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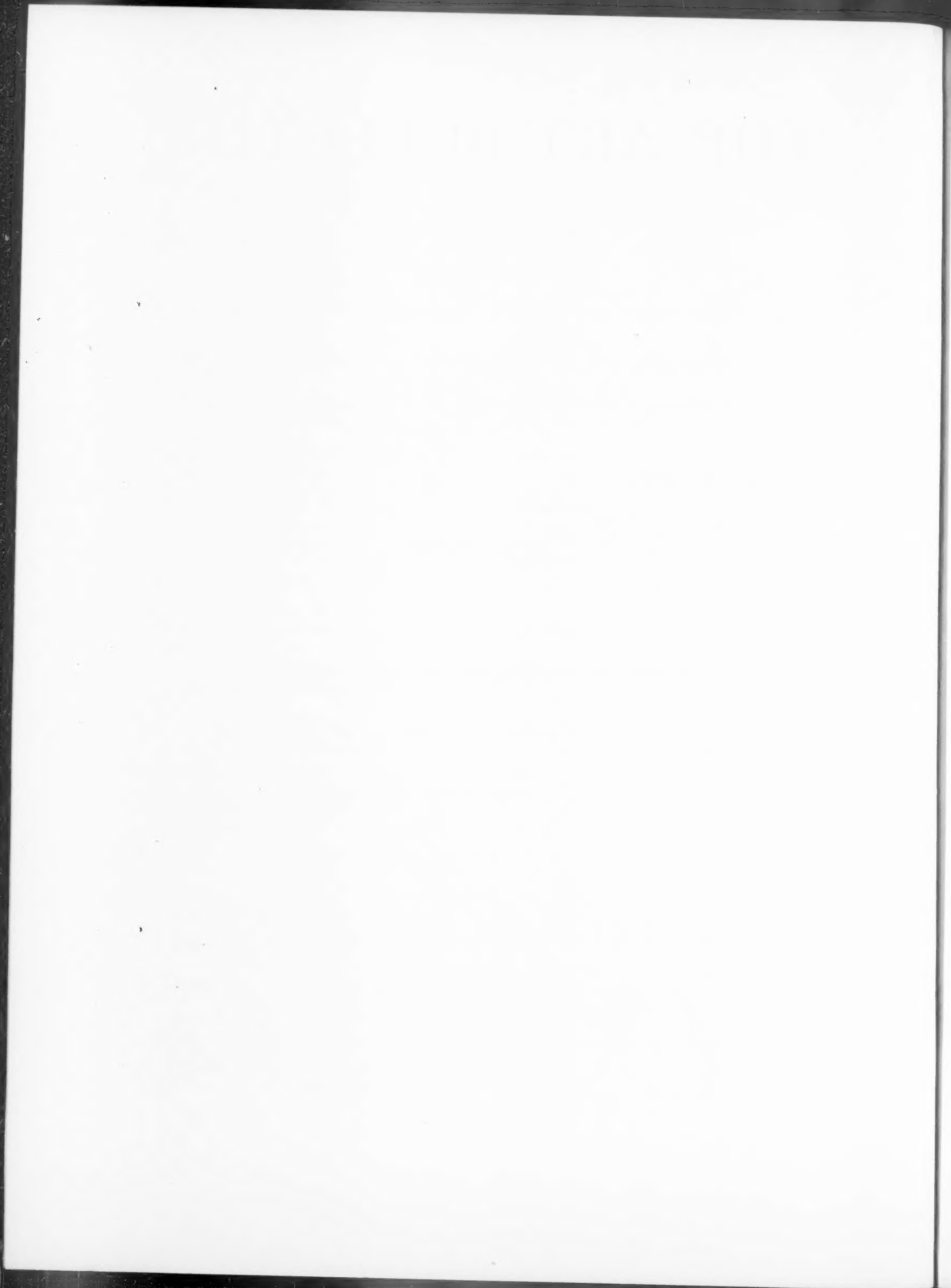
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RAPHAEL AND GIULIO ROMANO

WITH NOTES ON THE RAPHAEL SCHOOL

FREDERICK HARTT¹

ALTHOUGH incidental attempts have been made to separate the activities of the late Raphael from those of his pupils and collaborators,² the only author to treat the problem as a whole was Hermann Dollmayr,³ whose opinions have remained the *locus classicus* for our knowledge of the Raphael school. The present study is an attempt to bring the entire problem up to date, especially as regards the personality of Giulio Romano. The other members of the workshop, Penni, Raffaellino dal Colle, Giovanni da Udine, Benedetto Pagni da Pescia, either repeated endlessly the ideas of Raphael (later those of Giulio as well), or drifted from *bottega* to *bottega*, al-

ways as mere artisans or decorators.⁴ Giulio was the only one of Raphael's immediate assistants who ever became an independent artist in his own right, influential both on his own times and on succeeding generations, and considered as the rightful heir of Raphael and the exponent of the majestic Roman tradition.

The inventive powers of Giulio were correctly estimated by Vasari and by Serlio.⁵ Titian, Rubens, and Poussin were able to overlook the unevenness of execution and comparative absence of natural feeling in Giulio's great decorative cycles, in their admiration for the brilliance of his compositional, narrative, and architectural devices, which they adopted enthusiastically.⁶ The isolation of the formative

1. The author owes more than he can say to the kindness of the late Professor Oskar Fischel who, though in daily danger in a time and country hostile toward his people, found opportunity to give a foreigner the benefit of his vast knowledge of the Raphael material. The guidance and penetrating criticism of Professor Walter Friedlaender have greatly improved the study. The investigation in Europe was undertaken on a travelling research fellowship from the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University in 1937-38, through the generosity of an anonymous donor. This paper should be considered as the introduction to a full monographic study of Giulio Romano's career, the material for which will have to be laid aside until the war is over.

Panel paintings and frescoes are treated in the text of this study; works not attributed to Raphael or to Giulio Romano have been relegated to an appendix; with certain exceptions, drawings are treated in the footnotes. Because of the impossibility of reproducing herewith all the necessary photographic material, the illustrations have been so chosen as not to duplicate what is already published in A. Rosenberg, *Raffaels des Meisters Gemälde*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909 (Klassiker der Kunst), A. Venturi, *Storia della Parte italiana*, IX, 2, Milan, 1926, and *Raphael*, Phaidon edition, New York, 1941, intr. by Wilhelm Suida. The reader is asked to keep these volumes constantly at hand for reference.

The present study cannot be considered as complete. The Loggia and the tapestry cartoons have not been treated at all; study of several panels has had to be omitted; the notes are not as full as they might be. But it has seemed best to publish the material as it is, rather than wait an indefinite period until the end of the war.

2. Especially Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Raphael, His Life and Works*, London, 1885, II; J.-D. Passavant, *Raphael d'Urbino et son père Giovanni Santi*, Paris, 1895, II; Oskar Fischel, in Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, Leipzig, 1935, XXIX, pp. 433 ff.

3. "Raffaels Werkstätte," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses zu Wien*, XVI, 1895, pp. 230-363.

4. This does not include masters like Peruzzi, Perin del Vaga, or Polidoro, who were associates, not creatures, of Raphael's, and lived an independent artistic existence.

5. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1885, V, pp. 523 ff.: "none among them was better grounded, prouder, surer, more capricious, abundant and universal," etc., and Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospettiva* . . . , Venice, 1619, Libro IV, fol. 133v.: "the most beautiful Palazzo del Te, . . . real example for the architecture and painting of our time."

6. For Giulio's great compositional influence on Titian, especially in the paintings in the sacristy of Sta. Maria della Salute, cf. Theodor Hetzer, "Studien über Tizians Stil," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, I, 1923, pp. 243-248, and pls. 101-105. Rubens was obviously indebted to Giulio at many points, not only in his general compositional and decorative principles, but in many specific instances of direct borrowing, as for example in the *Decius Mus* series of tapestry cartoons (R. Oldenbourg, *Rubens, des Meisters Gemälde* [Klassiker der Kunst], Stuttgart and Leipzig, n.d., pp. 142-147), some of which are taken from Giulio's frescoes in the Sala di Costantino, and in the great Uffizi *Entrance of Henry IV into Paris* (*ibid.*, p. 317), partly based on Giulio's cartoons for the *Triumph of Scipio* (D'Astier, *La belle tapisserie du roy*, Paris, 1907, pls. 19-22). The illusionistic device of a fictitious tapestry within a representation, utilized by Giulio in the Sala di Costantino, is borrowed by Rubens in the cartoons for the *Triumph of Religion* (Oldenbourg, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-299) and in the sketches for the life of Achilles in Rotterdam and elsewhere (L. van Puyvelde, *Les esquisses de Rubens*, Basel, 1940, pls. 67-69). The octagons of the ceiling of the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Te, with their *di sotto in su* views of interiors, came to Rubens both directly and through the medium of Veronese, and may be considered as very influential on the compositions for the ceiling of St. Charles Borromée in Antwerp (*ibid.*, pls. 30-40) and for the ceiling of the

stages of Giulio's inventiveness within the workshop of Raphael cannot then be considered merely as the clearing away from Raphael of the incrustations of false attribution, as it had been for the nineteenth century. It is rather a task of positive historical and critical importance, in that it demands the full definition of a hitherto little understood artistic personality strong enough to have influenced some of the greatest geniuses of the Renaissance and the Baroque, the statement of the steps in the crystallization of an anti-classical or proto-Mannerist phase in the Raphael school, and an attempt to separate more clearly some of Raphael's satellites from each other and from Raphael himself.

But Raphael's own style is in these days little enough understood, and this study had best be preceded by a brief exposition of the principles which underlie his art. The development of Raphael's style is the orderly evolution of one basic principle — the organic and harmonious interpenetration of figures with deep space, caused by the free flow of energy throughout both space and figures. In Raphael's early work, this interpenetration is realized by the essentially Umbrian Quattrocento means of the rhythmic interplay of delicately adjusted ovoid forms and their silhouettes, rising against a spatial background. In the mature phase of Raphael's art, this system is enriched by all means of muscular articulation, spiral *contrapposto*, and spatial *chiaroscuro* known to the High Renaissance. The figures seem thus to rise not only by abstract aesthetic means, but to unfold rhythmically according to the laws of organic growth. In the culminating years of the master's development, the liberated figures display an increasing tendency to soar in free space, and the discharge of energy becomes more rapid and violent. In all cases this spatial-energetic principle is realized by means of vibrant, volumetric surfaces, moving in the forms of endless ovals, ellipses, and spirals, related to each other in harmonies which seem astronomical or musical or both.

The expressional counterpart of this principle is the free interchange of feeling between the persons of the picture, who communicate with each other or release emotion with the same liberty shown in the release of energies in the composition, in the harmonious revolution of the figure

Banqueting Hall in Whitehall (*ibid.*, pls. 52-54). Cf. also *infra*, note 54. These are a very few of the possible instances. It is to be remembered that Rubens was connected with the court of Mantua from 1600 to 1608, and must have visited and studied Giulio's frescoes and panels many times, indeed probably lived among some of them. A complete cycle of drawings by Rubens' hand copying a series by Giulio is in existence, and will be published by the writer at a later date.

Professor Friedlaender, the most notable of Poussin scholars, has often emphasized Poussin's indebtedness to Giulio, and has pointed out one startling example of direct borrowing, i.e., Poussin's *Education of Jupiter*, in two versions, in Dulwich and in Berlin (Walter Friedlaender, *Nicolas Poussin*, Munich, 1914, pls. 183 and 185), the motives and composition of which are taken from Giulio's painting of the same subject in Hampton Court Palace.

masses, or in the flow of loops and parabolas in the drawing strokes. Matter itself seems no more than a crystallization of the forms of energetic motion. Figures are charged with energy, which vibrates around the faces, sparkles from the eyes, flows rapidly through hair, beard, and drapery with the motion of the brush strokes. The surface is divided into minute particles which move in continuous streams. Thus are constructed forms which seem stable not through sheer material duration as in Florentine art, but only through the harmonious balance of particles in suspension. And the space in which these forms are placed, whether in the typical bowl landscape of Umbria or under the vast domes and barrel vaults of an ideal Roman architecture, is measured from the picture plane to the point of infinity.

Never in undisputed originals from Raphael's hand is the free flow of energy for one moment impeded by superfluous detail, or clogged by too heavy a load of matter. Always it is fully realized in the spiral motion of the figure and in the domical spatial compositions. Perhaps it is in the drawings that Raphael's energy finds its most rapid discharge, through the brilliant spirals and fleeting parabolas of pen and chalk. But never in painting or drawing is space unresponsive to the possibility of traversing motion, nor is mass unresponsive to the continuous dance of rhythmic energy. It is no marvel that the early Baroque style is to so large an extent founded on Raphael. At times the late Raphael approaches the Baroque so closely that the historian finds it difficult indeed to define wherein the difference lies.

To summarize, then, the basic principles of Raphael's style comprise: 1) space harmoniously measured and constructed from the picture plane to the point of infinity or of disappearance; 2) a core of spiral motion, both of figures and total composition; 3) the free passage of energy through space and matter. With these criteria in mind, let us examine the late works themselves, beginning with the frescoes of the Sala dell'Incendio.

In the title fresco, the *Fire in the Borgo*,⁷ mass is still intact and space still measured by receding orthogonals, and enclosed by projecting *coulisses* which open up to reveal a more distant space entered and traversed by the orthogonals. Their clear definition is paralleled by the firm de-

7. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-113; Venturi, *op. cit.*, fig. 233; *Raphael*, Phaidon ed., *op. cit.*, pls. 42 and 60-63. The painting was begun July 1, 1514 (letter from Raphael, Passavant, *op. cit.*, I, p. 499), and finished March 19, 1517 (cf. *inscr.*). This point has been chosen for a beginning solely for convenience. We do not know and must admit we will probably never know the actual date of Giulio's birth (for Vasari, 1499, yet according to the Mantuan necrology, 1492), and therefore cannot weigh probabilities as to how old the artist may have been and what type of work he might thus have been expected to perform at any given time. Certainly Raphael worked with assistants in the Sala d'Eliodoro, but so completely does the main portion of the work show the hand and intention of Raphael himself that to distinguish the assistants who were used for subsidiary details becomes a problem of minor importance.

marcation of the ascending steps at the back and by the clarity and precision of the architectural members, especially the columns, which are completely within the picture. Points of contact between verticals and horizontals are clearly felt, even as the intactness, density, and sharpness of the masses themselves. The herringbone pattern in which the pavement bricks are laid and the contrasting gridiron of stone enclosing the broad brickwork squares combine to enhance the palpability of the ground plane, while the sharp lighting renders the vertical elements equally concrete. The stereometry of the picture is intensified by depth contrasts. The screaming woman whose back is toward the spectator acts as a *repoussoir*, and together with the head of her neighbor is isolated against the depth recession she serves to emphasize. The woman advancing into the picture at the right is silhouetted in the same fashion. Finally, the placing of the commanding figure and the determining action at the most remote point from the spectator serve to charge the entire space with energy.

The foreground space is filled by groups rushing from the wings, which lateral masses have a tendency to converge at the center, as if drawn by a magnetic attraction toward the axis of the visual cone. This motion is definitely analogous to that of the foreground figures in the *Arrest of Attila*, and the placing of the determining figures toward the apex of the visual cone may be found in the *Expulsion of Heliodorus*. In these primary essentials of spatial organization we have, then, nothing which could contradict the origin of the basic scheme in the mind of Raphael. Whether this scheme was embodied in a drawing, mere notes, or even verbal directions is not clear, and yet that it is Raphael's would be very difficult to gainsay.

Nevertheless un-Raphaellesque elements crowd upon the eye. The general violence of the picture is achieved by a drastic suddenness of movement. Form is brutal and hard. The core of each figure is relatively inert, movement resulting from an energy which passes across rather than through the figure, and courses chiefly along its outline, not disturbing the form itself, which seems pre-existent. The figures are statues set in lumbering motion. They impinge carelessly upon each other. The very shape of each group of figures is collective within a huge silhouette rather than determined by agglomeration along energetic lines.

Thus if we can predicate a resemblance to Raphael in the *organization* of mass and space, we must also note that the *relation* of mass and space is exactly opposite to that found in Raphael's paintings. It would then appear that an idea from the mind of Raphael was systematized and developed in all its details by another and radically different personality. For they are not wholly un-Raphaellesque. The heroic male figures with their heavy, curling locks, powerful limbs and expressive glances are direct descendants of the grandiose beings who stride or fly through the Helio-

dorus and Attila frescoes. The female figures are likewise close enough to the majestic matrons of the *Mass at Bolsena* or to the grand Madonna types of Raphael's Roman years. In the ecstatic child of the *Madonna dell' Impannata*⁸ (which the author regards as at least designed by Raphael), we can see the origin of the type of head-pose and glance of the little "Ascanius."⁹

The broad-shouldered, slender-waisted, heavy-legged type of the magnificent figure throbbing against the wall is directly comparable to the Roman soldier whose back is turned to us in the Attila fresco. Yet the soldier is traversed by a stream of pure motion which swings him about easily on his axis in a great spiral from toe to finger-tip. Not so the *Incendio* figure, who is so tense that every muscle is in a state of strain, and the figure becomes a hanging statue. The very expression of the face, with its heavy lids, powerful, knitted eyebrows, sharply curling lips, wild glance, and shaggy hair, reminds us rather of Pergamene sculpture than of the alternating Praxitelean and Scopaeic pathos of Raphael. The tension, violence, and sheer material weight of all these nude figures result in more sculptural forms than those of the Stanza d'Eliodoro, defined by line which, despite its apparently guileless individual elements, is in reality quite complex, cutting and carving the form into facets rather than seeming the material outgrowth of inner movement.

The dramatic group of female figures at the extreme right is illuminated by a sudden glare from the burning building out of which they appear to be emerging, and swept by a gust from the same incandescent source. It lifts the diaphanous draperies of the two women carrying water jars, but is powerless against the heavy garments of the woman advancing with her children. Nevertheless the hair of all three women is clutched by the breeze and swung out in great loops. But although this invention can have come from no other brain than that of the creator of the Heliodorus frescoes, its actual treatment betrays very little of the continuous spatial movement of Raphaellesque composition. In spite of the implied *contrapposto* in the foreground figure with the jar, the unequal placing of her feet in depth and height produces no reaction of reciprocal balances in the rest of her body. Her hips are level, as her shoulders would also have been were she not carrying the jar. The disappearance of *contrapposto* and the classical system of balance result in a conscious archaism, apparent also in the double organization of elements, a system repellent to Raphael, yet everywhere evident in the arrangements of the *Incendio*. The very drapery folds of the kneeling figure are rendered double and parallel in three places. The advancing legs of Aeneas and Ascanius are definitely assimilated to each other, in spite of their diversity

8. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

9. Venturi, *op. cit.*, fig. 234.

of function and origin. The tendons and sinews of the hanging figure and his neighbor are so handled that groups of two continually appear.

These unfunctional parallelisms, these visual rhymes, are multiplied throughout the fresco. The result is that the spectator is continually thwarted in his attempt to establish the principal points of reference within the picture and the principal lines of communication, since each is doubled.

A certain statuesque inertia is inherent in the poses and movements, despite the apparent violence of the action. The movement of hair and drapery is at every point impeded. The sudden release of one lock from the complex plaitings that bind its neighbors liberates it to stand out stiffly like a flag in a steady wind. The folds of cloth seem like sheets of stone. Everywhere the observer is conscious of their thickness and weight, which, although adding to the impact of the huge billows, prevent the smooth escape of energy. Each figure is actuated by feelings of sudden terror which are the source of motion. This instant terror is as instantly stilled by the tiny figure of the Pope in the distant Benediction Loggia. Near the apex of the visual cone, this figure allies itself with that cone, and has the apparent effect of maintaining all the figures in their proper places by virtue of this alliance. Yet the placing of the determining figure slightly aside from and above the actual vanishing point establishes two conflicting centers for the composition, a further example of disturbing dualism.¹⁰

Finally, the proportions of the figures display this same disharmony and abruptness. They are characteristically broad-shouldered, with massive limbs and small extremities. The figure has the appearance of being composed of separate blocks, actuated by a mechanical force rather than an inner energy. The hands and feet and faces are arranged parallel to the surfaces of the figure block and thereby of the picture plane, which they thus establish to an extent unknown in Raphael. The facial types betray the same lack of inner harmony, even though many recall Antonine sculp-

ture, with their sharp, classic noses and hair rippling back from low foreheads. Most are represented with mouths open in curves of excitement, and all intercept extremely vigorous outlines against other masses. The magnificent head of the advancing woman (Fig. 10) shows clearly the reduction of forms to broad, cubic masses, and the harsh expressive quality substituted for the spirituality of Raphael.

Thus within the school and general artistic vocabulary of Raphael, and at the very height of the High Renaissance, we find already the germs of a basically opposite style, now known in literature by the unsatisfactory name of Mannerism. It has become generally recognized that the normative, harmonious style of the High Renaissance is in most sections of Italy succeeded by an antagonistic phase based on entirely different principles of violence, tension, emotional strain, and of complex patterns and involved relationships, as exemplified particularly by the art of such masters as Rosso, Pontormo, Parmeggianino, and Beccafumi, and that the aesthetic crisis thus indicated corresponds to a very real change in the thought and feeling of the times. It is then in terms of such a positive transformation that we must regard the stylistic change here visible, and not as a merely negative retrogression due to the ineptitude of students.

In view of his later achievements in Mantua, it is necessary to attribute the anti-classical elements in the *Fire in the Borgo* to Giulio Romano, and in this attribution the writer follows Dollmayr.¹¹ That Raphael himself could have been responsible for it is unthinkable. This fresco is contemporary with such works as the *Castiglione*, the *Donna Velata*, the Czartoryski portrait, the *Madonnas della Sedia* and *della Tenda*, and the *Sistine Madonna*, all representative of the height of Raphael's peculiar artistic and spiritual attainments. Indeed, not even the tumultuous and dramatic style of the tapestry cartoons¹² displays the anti-classical

10. The apparent incommensurability of the various architectural elements is not necessarily un-Raphaelesque (cf. the tapestry cartoons); it is typical of all street scenes in the Renaissance. Distinctly new, however, is the actual character of the architectural drawing. The columns rest upon a base so low that it seems flattened by their weight. The shaft, fluted by shallow grooves which do not deeply cut into its mass, pushes sharply upward to a composite capital whose leaves continue the vertical thrust, which is immediately counteracted by the downward push of the curling volutes. The story below the Benediction Loggia is made up of gigantic rusticated blocks in Bramante's *ultima maniera*. Just above the heads of the nearby figures a row of massive stones converges toward a central keystone as if to form the lintel of a broad window. Yet no window is present. Furthermore the corners of the Ionic building at the right, the Doric Benediction Loggia, the upper story of St. Peter's and the composite structure at the left are so arranged as to form a continuous moulding, just as if the distance between these buildings were non-existent. Thus are introduced into the architecture abrupt and distressing relations similar to those already analyzed in the figure compositions.

11. For Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*Raphael*, II, p. 253) the foreground of the fresco represents Giulio's execution after Raphael drawings, and with Raphael retouches. The notion is improbable in the extreme. Passavant considered the whole fresco by Raphael (*Raphael d'Urbino*, II, p. 160). It is not here contended that the fresco displays overt connections with the Mannerist schools of Tuscany and Emilia or that the symptoms here displayed are as violent as those to be noted in the art of Pontormo or Parmeggianino, only that certain basic preconceptions of the human spirit, the organization of forms and the character of space are common to Giulio Romano and the Mannerists. The numerous classical, especially Roman, elements in Giulio's style do not prevent his alliance with this basically anti-classical phase of Cinquecento art.

12. It is almost inconceivable that Dollmayr should have given these awesome creations in their entirety to Penni, leaving Raphael's share as the ideas only and certain drawings. But he never saw the originals, as he admits ("Raffaels Werkstätte," pp. 256 ff.) and thus could not have noticed the quality of many of the passages, which in spite of repainting show the very hand of Raphael. Cf. Fischel in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, XXIX, p. 441: Fischel verbally described to the author the heads mentioned in the above passage as "handschriftlich echt." Certain heads are undoubtedly

principles announced in the *Incendio*, but rather revives the style of Masaccio on a Cinquecento basis, or prefigures the style of the Seicento, and not even in the last touches from Raphael's brush in the *Transfiguration* does he disclose the slightest departure in the direction of Mannerism.

In derivation and spirit Raphael's style, with its humanity, its easy bodily movements, its spatial continuity, may be thought of as Fourth Century or even Hellenistic Greek. But perhaps the most clearly distinguishing characteristic of Giulio's style is that it is Roman, and Roman in an antique sense. Giulio's strong preference for intricate and tense pattern developed in a relief plane, his feeling for inflexible form, his predilection for the official, the historical, the triumphal, are all related to the developed art of imperial Rome. It is to Roman sarcophagi, Roman historical reliefs, Roman triumphal arches that we must look for the sources of Giulio's peculiar style, with its combination of pomp and violence, and later its admixture of caricature. Giulio's art is essentially related to the traditions of his native city, which he always regretted having left, and of which he always felt himself a part. Vasari even attributed Giulio's death in a certain measure to the conflict between the relatives who wished to keep him in Mantua in 1546 when he was offered the commission to complete St. Peter's in Rome, and his own intense desire to accept, and thereby to revisit his native city.¹³ And it is perhaps significant that when Giulio signs his name in Mantua on letters or in documents it is almost always in Latin — *Iulius Romanus*.

Dollmayr also noticed that the background figures in the *Incendio* are by a radically different hand from that of Giulio, displaying none of his hardness or violence, yet on the other hand equally far from the harmonious principles of Raphael.¹⁴ This personality betrays his Florentine origin by his concentration on broken sections of outline and by his decomposition of the forms into patches of light and dark. Both these tendencies are implicit in the development of early sixteenth-century painting in Florence, and are to be seen in the paintings and drawings of Andrea del Sarto, Rosso, Puligo, Franciabigio, and the late works of Fra Bartolommeo. The style is characterized by a disquieting softness at just the points where greater resistance would normally be expected, and irregular pulsations where the eye is prepared for the larger rhythms of Raphael. As Dollmayr pointed out, this Florentine master is Gianfrancesco Penni, the earliest pupil of Raphael.¹⁵ Nowhere

could we mistake his style for that of Giulio, nor fail to recognize his characteristic proportions, large head, narrow shoulders, heavy forearms, short waist, broad hips, heavy legs, plump musculature. Although this personality is incapable of creation on an original level, it would be unfair to relegate him entirely to the category of incompetent assistants; when working within the Raphael atelier he has undeniable quality. The coloration of the fresco is still Raphaellesque, both in the Giulio and the Penni portions.¹⁶ Throughout, the flesh tones are rosy, and in spite of the damage done to the surface, the draperies still display clear blues, yellows and peach tones.¹⁷

In the sharpest contrast to the *Fire in the Borgo*, with its almost hallucinatory stereometric quality, is the fresco of the *Battle of Ostia*.¹⁸ The visual cone has disappeared, precipitating the figures onto the foreground plane. This does not eliminate distance, for the horizon line is represented, but merely deprives the spectator of any direct means of

Becker, *op. cit.*, XXVI, 1932, p. 384. Cf. also Milanesi in Vasari, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 643, note 2, and Index, p. 7, where the dates are given as 1496-1536.

16. The color has been greatly improved by the careful cleaning of 1938-39.

17. Dollmayr believed all the drawings for the *Fire in the Borgo* false. Certainly the Uffizi drawing for the woman with the amphora is a late copy of an original which might have been by Giulio, but the splendid Albertina drawings are not so easily brushed aside. While the author agrees with Meder's attribution to Pordenone of the study for the woman ascending the stair (Joseph Meder, *Handzeichnungen italienischer Meister des XV-XVIII Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1923, pl. 35, and Venturi, *Storia*, IX, 2, fig. 236), which bears no relation to the *Incendio* frescoes, the drawing for the women in the center (Venturi, *op. cit.*, fig. 235) is of the highest quality and certainly by Giulio. The discrepancies between this sheet and the fresco formulation of the group are explicable in terms of the model-study character of the sheet; the position of the child is indicated by a mere line, and apparently not till later did Giulio conceive the notion of retracting the kneeling woman's arm. Furthermore the great drawing for the so-called Aeneas and Anchises group, Albertina 4881 (Alfred Stix and L. Frölich-Bum, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der graphischen Sammlung Albertina*, Vienna, 1926-1933, III, pl. 28, no. 78), is absolutely identical in style with the famous drawing Raphael sent to Dürer (cf. *infra*, note 28) which Dollmayr would probably have doubted too, were it not for the inscription. The central caryatid figure in the dado, below the *Fire* fresco, almost unrecognizable through the repaint, was prepared for by a splendid study in Düsseldorf (Illa Budde, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in . . . Düsseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1930, p. 6), certainly by Giulio.

18. The surface is in a very uneven state of preservation, but is in general quite badly deteriorated. The worst ruined portion extends from the Pope's foot to the back of the soldier with the plumed helmet, and from the seashore to the cornice. So rubbed and dirtied is this section, indeed so deeply ingrained with soot, that it is often difficult to distinguish any of the original surface. All the precision of the outlines has vanished, the modelling has become quite hazy, and in some portions the knife-cuts through the cartoon into the *intonaco* form the clearest means of apprehending the original form. Certain of the figures are heavily repainted, especially the portraits of the papal suite and the central figure with the plumed helmet.

by Giulio. The paintings have been so damaged and repainted that only a very careful technical study could disengage the still recognizable portions.

13. Vasari, *Vite*, V, p. 555.

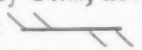
14. *Op. cit.*, p. 251. For an illustration, cf. Rosenberg, *Raffaël*, p. 114. Crowe and Cavalaselle gave the background to Raphael (*op. cit.*, II, p. 252).

15. For information and bibliography cf. Baumgart in Thieme-

reference between foreground and background. Except for the very slight recession of the group most directly surrounding the Pope, the foreground figures do not leave the shallow stage on which they are so precariously balanced, and the high horizon line has raised the background figures so that they form another register. The whole system of orthogonals has vanished. Perspective, that hard-won symbol of spatial harmony, subsuming all visual phenomena under one embracing system, has here been ignored. A Renaissance artist has turned his back on the achievements of the Renaissance, and has revived mediaeval or even late classical modes of spatial formulation.

The figures are bound by their struggle into one continuous group which, although it is silhouetted against the sea, does not allow any individual figure to isolate itself. Moreover, the very fact that the recession of the sea is not measurable makes it seem a vertical rather than a horizontal plane. This destruction of the visual cone is matched by a very considerable weakening of the foreground plane as a limiting form. In the *Fire in the Borgo* the foreground plane is supported by the system of orthogonals, and even when it could easily have been broken at the lower right hand corner, where the figure with the jar seems to step down into the scene from an adjoining building, the steps of the building are so deployed that they seem to originate from a space which is beyond the pilaster at the right. In the *Battle of Ostia* the figures step out of a boat whose stern alone is in the picture, and the rest of which, cut by the lower edge of the frame, should be outside in the space wherein the spectator stands. This at once weakens the distinction between represented and real space, embodied in the very nature of a foreground plane. Yet this use of the boat as a base is in turn contradicted by the stance of the oarsman, who so places his left foot that it seems to rise directly from the edge of the frame, at the same time that we know associatively that it must be below and behind the frame. Continued inspection, then, resolves the figure group into a complex whose inward extension is slight, but whose outward extension grows always more explicit. This is the principle active in Roman sarcophagus relief, wherein forms pile upward and outward from a background which is at no point clear. This parallel with Roman relief at times becomes specific.

The configuration thus far analyzed has a definite shape, easily distinguished from that of corresponding configurations in the *Fire in the Borgo*, where each movement is answered by a corresponding movement on the opposite side, so that the entire tangle might be resolved into the following diagram: $\rangle\text{---}\langle$. This implies basically classical notions of the concentration of lateral forces upon the center in a sort of huge X, and of equal possibilities of motion along either branch of that X, the center once having been gained. This means two things: first, the possibilities

of motion within the pictorial space and along lines embodied in grouped forms are not limited to any one plane or to any one direction; second, these possibilities are so arranged as to revolve around a central axis. Nor is this the only time when Raphael's basic principle assumes such a shape. We can find this sort of X-configuration throughout the compositions of Raphael, from the *Sposalizio* to the *Spasimo* as a formula for dramatic groupings. In the case of the *Battle of Ostia*, however, the diagram might read in this fashion: , implying the disappearance of stable symmetrical arrangements. Furthermore, since both these diagrams take the same shape when deduced from the stage plan of the picture as when derived from the surface arrangements, the possibility of motion in various directions is eliminated immediately from that of the *Battle of Ostia* along with the mutilation of the X-form.

Double arrangements run throughout the figure composition even more strongly than in the *Fire in the Borgo*. For example, the protagonist among the Roman soldiers, now placed in about the exact center of the composition, has most of his movements duplicated by the soldier directly behind him (Fig. 2). His head, his neck, his shoulder and arm movement, his glance, all find clear echoes, broken only when the protagonist seizes the hair of one soldier and his double seizes the beard of another. The duplication is taken up again in the legs of the captive and his captor, which descend in the same rhythm to the boat.

Yet the entire group is far more densely tangled than are any groups in the *Fire in the Borgo*, where figures are so arranged that in their interstices one is continually conscious of opening and receding space. In the *Battle of Ostia* not only are these openings fewer and smaller, but the relations of figure to figure are of so much more complex a nature as completely to dissolve the sense of statuesque discreteness observable in the *Fire in the Borgo*. The chief relationships are here those of grasping and tying, which may well serve as symbols of the principles of the composition. For the figures are knotted together in a purposely elusive and deceptive pattern. Arms of one figure, legs of another, body of a third, are so placed as to be confused with each other and confusing to the spectator. Coupled with the powerful anatomies and the drastic foreshortenings, these entanglements show that the *Battle of Ostia* was impossible without the direct influence of Michelangelo's *Brazen Serpent*.¹⁹

Thus in the essential aspect of the relation of form to space and to the picture plane, just as in the relation of individual forms to each other, the picture is strikingly un-Raphaellesque, representing a departure from Raphael's principles even more radical than that found in the *Fire in*

19. Especially the Roman soldier binding a Saracen, whose position is extremely close to that of one of the central figures trying to disentangle himself from a serpent in Michelangelo's fresco.

the *Borgo*, in fact an extension to every part of the painting of these new anti-classical principles announced in the earlier works only in individual figures and groups. For these reasons, then, despite the Raphaelisms recurrent in the picture, we are forced to attribute the very conception of the fresco to Giulio Romano. But we can go much farther than this. The types of the figures, their entanglements, and even the prevailing mood announce threateningly the tumult and horror of the *Sala dei Giganti*. This is particularly true of the boatman to the extreme right, the snarling heads of the two captains emerging from the boat and that of the fierce Roman soldier accompanying them, the helpless heads of the prostrate figures, and the wildly glaring, white-bearded Saracen just below the head of the soldier in scale armor at the left (Fig. 1).

This soldier as well prefigures other Giulio figures, specifically the St. Paul in Giulio's *Stoning of Stephen* in Genoa (Fig. 37), whose head is lifted at much the same angle, whose mouth is open in the same fashion, whose eyes show the same hysterical appeal. Both are defined by the same brusque, short curves we have already seen in the *Fire in the Borgo*. The powerful rendering of the lithe and tense body under the scale-mail is of a piece with the drawing of the hanging figure in the *Fire in the Borgo*.

The helmeted head directly above is the only really well preserved head in the entire fresco, and gives us some idea of the vibrant surface quality and tense, dramatic gaze which must have been present in all the figures before the great deterioration of the surface. Even though much of the modelling is obliterated, however, magnificent passages can still be discerned, as for example the attenuated yet muscular torso of the huge soldier in the center.²⁰ Bodily movements, violent, constricted, tense, have abandoned the axiality of Raphael's figures even more decisively than have those of the *Fire in the Borgo*.

This soldier may be considered typical of the motion of a Giulio standing figure. A Raphael figure in this position would have had a central spiral axis carrying from the toes up through the body and out. The Giulio figure, on the contrary, is reduced to a motion in two dimensions, a motion of parts in a great zigzag along the surface, defined by a very sharp contour in successive units, and involving sharp tensions at buttocks, waist, hips, and abdomen, and ends in a curious forward drive which, as in the Borghese warrior, is represented at the spent conclusion of motion rather than in potential or active motion.

The anaxiality and figure entanglement announced here in so sharp a degree show that Raphael's favorite pupil accepted enthusiastically a side of Michelangelo which must have been repugnant to Raphael himself. They re-

20. The engraver-like cross-hatchings which appear in the shadows of this figure, throughout the modelling of his hose and in the background, are typical Maratta restorations.

main with Giulio for the rest of his career, as components of his mature Mantuan style. As for the background figures, their small size and sketchy state of preservation render attribution difficult, if not impossible. It is not beyond probability that they are, as Dollmayr suggested, by Penni, as their proportions would seem to indicate.²¹

In the last two frescoes of the Stanza dell'Incendio we enter the domain of the day laborers. The composition of the *Coronation of Charlemagne* exhibits those characteristics we have already analyzed in the case of the other frescoes, but in a purely negative manner. The same rising perspective is evident, but so applied that the very floor seems to be on an inclined plane, contrasting with the rapid, downward diminution of the section of vault represented. The figures are grouped in two registers, but with the loosest of controlling schemes. Double configurations are employed, but lifelessly and without meaning. Segmentation by the frame seems to have happened here by oversight rather than by intention. The figures are not clear in their arrangements and appeal to the spectator to release them from their own superfluous existence. Their great bulks are no more than masses of flesh and cloth, devoid of life or movement. Neither the spirituality of Raphael nor the violence of Giulio is present in these incarnations of oppressive and unrelieved materiality (Figs. 3 and 4).

Traces of Raphael formulae can still be distinguished even in this wilderness, as for instance the two singers in the *cantoria*, disappointing enough when we compare them with their ancestors in the *Mass of Bolsena*, or the soldier in armor, borrowed directly from the *Liberation of Peter* (Fig. 3). The metalwork objects, textiles, vestments, etc. are, however, not badly painted, and the delineation of the features compels a certain approval. Restricted to this scale, the painter is capable of dividing a face into a series of component planes. Eyes are clearly demarcated, often with little pouches below. Eyebrows stop squarely short of meeting, and have a tendency to contract. Noses are almost always straight and rather fine, with a flat, ribbon-like frontal plane and a slight bulb at the end, and the upper lip is invariably drawn outward to the nose. A clear inverted cres-

21. In spite of Dollmayr, three genuine Giulio drawings remain. The first, of course, is the drawing sent to Dürer in 1515 and now in the Albertina (Venturi, *op. cit.*, fig. 240; Stix and Frölich-Bum, *op. cit.*, pl. 27, no. 74). Another caryatid is in Düsseldorf and in Lille is a splendid model study for the *King Lothaire* (Fig. 31), exemplary for Giulio's vigorous, sculptural style at this period.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*op. cit.*, II, p. 271) attribute the entire fresco to Raphael, with collaboration from Giulio only in certain heads. Passavant (*op. cit.*, II, p. 161) withholds judgment entirely. Crowe and Cavalcaselle believed the Oxford battle drawings to be by Raphael's own hand, as first studies for this picture, with which they can have nothing to do. Dollmayr (*op. cit.*, figs. 29-31) gives them to Penni, which is probably correct, but also sees them as studies for the *Battle of Constantine* with which they have no correspondence whatever.

cent separates the chin from the lower lip, which usually collects a strong shadow. Shadows are often thrown on the upper portion of the throat in a strong line that amounts to a formula, are relieved by a bit of reflected light at the sterno-cleido-mastoid, and are again pinched in behind the jawbone. Hands are generally quite nerveless and straight throughout, bending only in the last joint of the finger, and then backward.

Allowing for variations necessitated by the changes in scale, the observer will find an extraordinary agreement between the different portions of this picture, enough to indicate execution by one hand. That this artist is Giulio we cannot by any stretch of the imagination suppose. Dollmayr himself recognized the impossibility of such an assumption, but, misled by his characteristic over-simplification of the problem, attributed the fresco to Penni.²² If the background of the *Fire in the Borgo* is by Penni, then the *Coronation of Charlemagne* is not.

Who, then, is this artist? We cannot proceed on the assumption that Vasari has given us the names of all of Raphael's assistants, for he might conceivably have omitted important personalities. Nevertheless, he is our first and most reliable source, and with reservations, we must investigate the indications he provides. In addition to Giulio and Penni, Vasari mentions at this period five other assistants,²³ to wit, Bartolommeo da Castiglioni, Tommaso Papacello Cortonese, Benedetto Pagni da Pescia, Giovanni da Lione, and Raffaellino dal Colle. Of these, the first is a blank as far as existing works are concerned. Of Pagni we know that he accompanied Giulio to Mantua, indeed, was the only assistant of the Roman years who actually succeeded in remaining in Mantua. Two pictures are known to exist in Pescia,²⁴ although the author has not seen them. From the brush of Raffaellino dal Colle, however, we have a long series of works.²⁵ He, it seems, was the only one of the crew to achieve any distinction, and we find him leaving his native town of Borgo San Sepolcro on odd jobs under such masters as Girolamo Genga at Pesaro and Rosso Fiorentino. His later work can be easily recognized through its combination of Raphael school motives with mannerisms borrowed from both Raffaellino's other masters. His heavy, soggy figures are loosely arranged in the foreground, with no sense of pattern and with rather hard and dry drapery

lines. His backgrounds are almost invariably the heroic Roman ruin landscape used by Raphael in the Attila fresco and repeated in so many pictures of his school. Characteristic is the combination of rusty and slaty coloring with a sort of uncontrolled chiaroscuro, and in the faces a sharp separation of plane from plane accenting particularly the flat, ribbon-like bridge of the nose and the very straight line of the brows. The expressiveness of the figures is generally as uncertain and hysterical as the impression the picture makes on the beholder.

Although Raffaellino's later periods are thoroughly represented, the days of his sojourn in Rome are marked by no documented works. The attribution to Raffaellino is rendered more possible, however, by the approximation of the head type to those seen in Raffaellino's much later *Resurrection* in Borgo San Sepolcro.²⁶ As is well known, the protagonist among the watching soldiers at the tomb is a direct borrowing from Raphael's figure of Heliodorus, and the Christ comes equally clearly from the Raphael school *Noli me tangere* in the Prado.

Thus the partial and incomplete conception we can form of Raffaellino has little which could prevent the assumption that he is the author of the *Coronation of Charlemagne*, and has indeed much to recommend it. The lack of pattern, the concentration on rather dry detail, the interest in luminary values, all are present. The separation into planes we have already distinguished in both our fresco and the works of Raffaellino, although at this stage Raffaellino, if he be really the master of this fresco, has not yet suffered the complete disintegration of the later works. This supposition can be supported by certain more direct parallels. Among the group of prelates directly behind the kneeling Charlemagne the face second from the left is strikingly like that of the Borgo Christ, especially as regards the construction of the eye. The face of the lowest of the mitred archbishops on the left side of the composition, his shoulder half obscured by the handle of a silver pitcher (Fig. 4), is almost identical in construction with that of the woman whose face appears in profile at the extreme left of the late *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* by Raffaellino in Città di Castello.²⁷ Farther than this it is dangerous to press the scanty evidence. For the moment we must leave Master C with nothing more than the probability that he can be identified with the early Raffaellino dal Colle, with whose activity his painting of the *Coronation of Charlemagne* seems to correspond.

Not the most charitable critic could discover redeeming qualities in the fresco on the remaining wall of this chamber, the *Oath of Leo*. The general organization is obviously taken from the *Mass at Bolsena*, but wholly without understanding of the meaning of the original. It is really sur-

22. *Op. cit.*, p. 267; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 365, also give this fresco to Penni, with the assistance of Giovanni da Udine in some of the heads. Baumgart, in Thieme-Becker, *op. cit.*, xxvi, p. 365, follows Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Dollmayr in the same attribution. Passavant, *op. cit.*, II, p. 157, believed many of the heads to be by Raphael. The Düsseldorf drawing (Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and pl. 5, fig. 12) is in all probability by Penni.

23. *Vite*, v, p. 533.

24. A *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* in S. Andrea and a *Marriage in Cana* in the Collegiata (unpublished).

25. Venturi, *Storia*, IX, 5, pp. 607-620. For attribution of disputed Raphael-esque panels to Raffaellino, see appendix.

26. *Ibid.*, fig. 347.

27. *Ibid.*, fig. 346.



FIG. 1. Battle of Ostia, Detail, Giulio Romano



FIG. 2. Battle of Ostia, Detail, Giulio Romano



FIG. 3. Coronation of Charlemagne, Detail, Here Attributed to Raffaellino dal Colle



FIG. 4. Coronation of Charlemagne, Detail, Here Attributed to Raffaellino dal Colle

FIGS. 1-4. ROME, VATICAN, SALA DELL'INCENDIO



FIG. 5. Cupid and the Three Graces, Giulio Romano



FIG. 6. Mercury Descending from Olympus, Gianfrancesco Penni



FIG. 7. The Council of the Gods, Detail, Penni and Raffaellino dal Colle



FIG. 8. The Council of the Gods, Detail, Penni and Raffaellino dal Colle

FIGS. 5-8. ROME, VILLA FARNESINA: FRESCOES AFTER RAPHAEL'S DESIGN

prising that a man who was as barely able as this one to render the mere physical appearance of objects should have been retained by Raphael for an undertaking of this magnitude. Aridity of thought and feeling pervades every harsh lineament. Sharp contours and a rude, two-tone light and shade complete the sum of this journeyman's accomplishments. We have no means of determining whether he may be identified with one of the masters mentioned by Vasari, save that, as will result from later analysis, he is not Benedetto Pagni da Pescia. Since, according to Salmi's article on Papacello (Vasari calls him Paparello),²⁸ this master was probably working in his native Cortona at this time, Vasari may well have been mistaken in including his name among the assistants at all. We are hardly justified in attributing the fresco to such an unknown as Giovanni da Lione, and must content ourselves with calling the painter Hand D.

The Hall of Psyche in the Villa Farnesina represented for Raphael a totally new problem, that of purely secular and pagan decoration, which offered golden possibilities to a mind so receptive to antique beauty. Perhaps for this reason the over-busied Raphael seems to have planned with much greater completeness and interest the frescoes of the enchanting loggia of Agostino Chigi. Such we must conclude from the close correspondence of the design as a whole with the principles of Raphael as manifested in other works. Even today this ensemble, dirtied by the weather and daubed by restorers, remains one of the most harmonious and graceful productions of the entire Renaissance.²⁹ Here is made more complex the decorative system already formulated in the Stanza d'Eliodoro, to wit, that the real architecture is first overlaid with a framework of apparent architecture erected along the actual groins of the vault. In the Farnesina this apparent architecture consists of ribs of flowers, fruit, and verdure forming pointed arches whose apices are joined by the frames of the two central pictures, the whole thus fashioning a rich bower. In the ten great spandrels thus demarcated are placed ten scenes from the fable of Cupid and Psyche, reduced in small groups of figures so deployed as to fit almost exactly the shapes of the spandrels themselves, and as to recede very little from that imaginary plane between the ribs, which corresponds exactly with the actual plane of the plaster. Yet some little recession is present. The figures are above the eyes of the observer, and while their feet often project in front of the picture plane, their upper portions are placed ever so slightly *behind* the massive bar of fruits. This device serves at once to increase the apparent liberty of the figure and to intensify the tectonic forces of the architecture.

The graceful conceit is completed by the stretching of

two fictitious tapestries across the flattest part of the groin vault, fastened to the framework at intervals by means of small ribbons against which they tug with gentle insistence. Behind the bower and the tapestry, as indeed through all the interstices of the apparent structure, the sky appears. And on the two tapestries are represented the last triumphant episodes of the erotic fable, arranged in broad curves within the limited, relief-like space, thus conforming to the style of a tapestry. What could be more Raphaelesque? Rising, spreading, floating forms are brought into complete and easy harmony with each other, fact and fancy are identified, space created, yet consciously limited to the proscriptions of the surrounding structure. Rich and glowing in color, broad and serene in its rhythm, this structure creates an idyllic pagan world, whose emanation from any other mind than that of Raphael is beyond the realm where argument is morally defensible.

What the frescoes might have been had Raphael's own hand executed them we can only dream, for dull brains have perplexed and retarded the flow of his inspiration. Only Giulio, the capricious virtuoso, has succeeded in giving a fitting materialization to the concepts of his master, and time and restoration have done what they could to batter the work. The original sky has been daubed over with a poisonous blue, and the same repellent cross-hatching technique has reinforced many passages of drapery and figure.

Shaky as Dollmayr's Penni may be, his conception of Giulio stands up in this case quite well.³⁰ Density of surface, directness of conception, continuous tension of contour, fanatic gaze — all these criteria combine to make Giulio's sections of the ceiling fairly easy to distinguish. Of the ten spandrel scenes, six fill their leafy frames with Giulio's full-bodied assertiveness: *Cupid and the Three Graces*, *Venus and Ceres*, *Venus in Her Chariot*, *Psyche Borne from Hades*, *Psyche before Venus*, and *Cupid Kissed by Jupiter*. Direct comparisons between these massive figures and those of the *Fire in the Borgo* will disclose the same interest in tense and stony solidity expressed in the heavy-shouldered figures, with their broad chests, firm breasts, hard abdomens, sculpturesque legs. Where still clear, the profile is constructed by means of short, firm arcs. Massive draperies stand out like loops of carved stone. Hair sprouts richly and sturdily from the heads, wings replete with energy and substance start from the shoulders.

30. "Raffaels Werkstatt," p. 312; correct with the exception of *Venus Pointing Out Psyche to Cupid*, which is by the hand Dollmayr was never able to distinguish. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*Raphael*, II, pp. 418 ff.) ornamented their romantic assumption of the sudden entrance of Raphael to touch in the left-hand figure in the *Cupid and the Three Graces* group by an imaginative report of the conversation between Raphael and Giulio. The same authors give the *Psyche before Venus* to Giulio, but specify little else. The left-hand Grace is also given to Raphael by Passavant (*Raphael d'Urbino*, II, p. 282) who does not attempt to separate the pupils' hands.

28. Mario Salmi, "Tommaso Barnabei detto il Papacello," *Bollettino d'arte*, III, 1923-24, pp. 167-182.

29. Cf. Rosenberg, *Raffaels*, p. xxxix, for appearance of interior; pp. 150-156 for spandrels and ceiling.

Resistance and volume are the two chief properties of the style. These qualities are not so easily seen in the damaged frescoes of the garden side of the hall, but are clearly evident in the superb group of *Cupid and the Three Graces*, where the rich modelling and contour are excellently preserved (Fig. 5).

The other four spandrels are inferior both in character and in quality. In three of these four, that is, *Venus before the Throne of Jupiter*, *Mercury Descending from Olympus*, and *Mercury Guiding Psyche to Olympus*, we have no difficulty in recognizing the plump figures and the fatty line of Penni. Nevertheless, not even Penni's execution could really damage a conception as glorious as that of the heavenly messenger swinging down through the sky (Fig. 6), a being who ranks among the most impressive inventions of the late Raphael, on an ideal level with the Louvre *Saint Michael* and the Christ of the *Transfiguration*.

On examination of the first spandrel, *Venus Pointing Out Psyche to Cupid*,³¹ we discover the activity of an incompetent assistant whose hand leaves very little alive in the conceptions of Raphael.³² Here is evident neither the sculptural massiveness of Giulio nor the plumpness of Penni. The figures are nearly shapeless, so inept is the draughtsmanship. The same combination of pettiness and grossness apparent in the *Coronation of Charlemagne*, tentatively assigned to Raffaellino dal Colle, is visible also in these flaccid figures. More specific bonds may also be found: the identical square foreheads, plucked eyebrows and straight, Hellenic noses are present in both works, the same heavy shoulders, helpless hands, and thick legs. The face of Cupid resembles in certain respects the face just to the right of the great amphorae in the *Coronation of Charlemagne*, especially as to formation of nose, mouth, chin, and the telltale shadow under the jaw, inevitably accompanied by its reflected light. In the group of mitreless prelates surrounding the Pontiff, the already cited face, second from the left at the top, resembles that of Cupid. The principles of construction — or lack of it — in the face of Venus are to be met with especially in the physiognomy of the left hand chorister in the *cantoria* in the above-mentioned fresco, where we find the square forehead, straight nose, pointed upper lip and angular chin of Venus, even the same feeling about the temples and the throat. The differing subject matter of the two works makes detailed comparison difficult, but a parallel between the puffs of drapery behind the Farnesina Venus and the drapery of the figure bearing the table in the *Coronation* discloses the same use of little, streaky pockets in contrast with long, parallel folds, a system to be encountered throughout the work of Raffaellino dal Colle.³³

31. *Raphael*, Phaidon ed., fig. 109.

32. Given to Giulio by Dollmayr, to Penni by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*op. cit.*, II, p. 423).

33. F. Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture, e architetture*

The two central panels, the *Nuptials of Cupid and Psyche* and the *Council of the Gods* (Figs. 7 and 8), have suffered more, perhaps, than any other portion of the ceiling. The original surface of the figures of Mercury and Psyche in the second panel is almost obliterated, and is also scarified by the familiar crisscross reinforcements. In the drapery of Juno hardly a square inch of the original surface remains. But not even the original portions of the surface are homogeneous. Inspection reveals a continual alternation both in drawing and in color across the two panels, which cannot be accounted for by the repaint. One group of figures has a blond tonality and a rather tight drawing, the next combines a broader surface feeling with an oily, brownish shadow, restless and shapeless in effect. The first style, technically superior to the second in spite of its narrow limitations, is certainly to be identified with the hand of Penni. It includes, in the *Nuptials of Cupid and Psyche*, the following figures: Apollo, Flora, and the figures between them, Hercules, Hebe, Thetis, Neptune, the first two winged genii, Ganymede, Cupid and Psyche, Bacchus and the Three Graces; in the *Council of the Gods*: Psyche, Mercury, Janus, Venus, Pluto, Cupid, Neptune, Jupiter, Juno, Diana, and Minerva.

These figures display all of Penni's familiar characteristics, which need no further repetition. The remaining figures are presumably from the brush of Raffaellino (Hand C); their greasy, brown intonation is that which disfigures the *Venus and Cupid* spandrel. Repulsive in its mingling of brawn with nervelessness, the typical male musculature of this master is that of the bulky figures in the foreground of the *Coronation*. Except for differences in lighting, the head of Bacchus (Fig. 7) in the last scene is close to that of the soldier with the flat helmet, fourth from the left in the top row of the *Coronation* (Fig. 4). There is also considerable similarity between the head of Mars (Fig. 8) and that of the fifth soldier (Fig. 4), while the head of Apollo is one already typified by the Cupid of the first Farnesina spandrel.

The situation now becomes relatively clear: six spandrels were assigned to Giulio, three to Penni and one to the presumed Raffaellino dal Colle. The central panels were executed, possibly earlier, by Penni and Hand C in conjunction, each assuming a section at a time, at first only two or three figures each, and finally whole blocks. But the conception as a whole and the invention of at least the compositions must be credited to Raphael.³⁴

. . . , Rome, 1763, p. 34, mentions that Raffaellino worked in the Farnesina, without, however, giving any authority for the statement.

34. The complicated problems connected with the drawings for the Farnesina can only be summarized here:

(1) The Oxford sketch, No. 10 (Dollmayr, *op. cit.*, fig. 23), is by Raphael himself, and should be taken as the type of inven-

SALA DI COSTANTINO

The Sala di Costantino must first of all be pictured according to the way in which it was originally planned, that is, without the high vaulted ceiling of Tommaso Laurenti, completed only in 1585,³⁵ and since the decoration by the Raphael school extends only to the cornice, it is highly improbable that so wide a space could have been covered by anything but a wooden ceiling. This explains the comparative lowness of the wall decorations. The absolute coherency of the decorative system of the room as a whole necessitates a single creator. The room is longer than it is wide, is lighted by two enormous windows on the north side and pierced by several doorways and a large fireplace on the north wall between the windows. The doors and the fireplace are kept more or less within a painted dado which runs around the room, but the windows rise considerably above this level, thus interrupting the field of the monumental frescoes.

Each corner of the room is treated as if constructed in stone (Figs. 22 and 23). This fictitious architecture consists in each case of a niche panelled in veined marble and formed at the top by an enormous conch shell from whose tip hangs a circular canopy. Under each canopy a figure of a pope, flanked by two angels, is seated on a low chair, which is generally hidden behind his flowing garments. Flanking the niches and projecting beyond them are tall podia whose moldings, although identical with those of the niches, are not continuous, but are so placed that they cut into the jambs at a considerably lower level. On each of these podia stands a caryatid figure, one male and one female, painted not in grisaille but in natural colors. Before these podia and at a lower level than the figures of the popes are subsidiary podia without cornices, extending so far to the

sides that they overlap the podia below the niches. On each secondary podium is a seated figure of a theological Virtue. Each corner represents then a rather complicated interlocking scheme of molded and unmolded podia and niches, cut into the space of the wall or projecting in front of it, surmounted or filled by living figures. Since each corner has two niches, one terminating each wall, there should be eight popes, sixteen caryatids, and sixteen allegorical figures.

But the architectural exigencies of the room required some deviations from this scheme. The two windows on the north wall are so large that niches were impossible, and the popes at either end of this north wall sit in spaces formed by curtains which depend from actual stucco reliefs inserted just below the cornice. These curtains are drawn aside by *amorini*, one of whom flies in front of the angle podium, while the other stands upon a section of wall projecting above the corner of the window (Fig. 22). While only one allegorical figure can thus be employed in each corner of the north wall, both caryatids appear. The podium is prolonged into a wide plinth extending above the central section of the window, and interrupted by the Medici arms modelled in stucco against crossed keys. Above the *stemma*, three flying *amorini* (Fig. 23) do their best to uphold the papal triregnum. The *putto* who draws the curtain on one side also sustains a colossal Medici ring, and is balanced on the opposite side by a similar *putto* performing an analogous function. The asymmetry of the group is necessitated by the presence of only one caryatid, but its part in the composition is to lead the eye over the intervening window.

Perhaps the most ingenious device of the whole decorative system, however, is the method by which are introduced the four large historical compositions, the *Vision of Constantine*, the *Battle of Constantine and Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge*, the *Baptism of Constantine*,³⁶ and the *Donation of Rome to the Pope* (Fig. 16), which cover the greater part of the wall surfaces. They appear in the form of simulated tapestries, which are represented as if attached to the lower edge of the architrave. Thus the illusionistic system of the decoration, built up heretofore in terms of veined marble architecture, living persons, and actual stucco sculpture, now contains a fourth element, that of hanging tapestry — appropriate enough for the adornment of so large a room.

But this system embodies numerous disturbing elements:

(1) The overlapping of the various architectural members, coupled with the inward rolling of the tapestries at the corners (Fig. 25) as if the architecture forced them to do so, creates the impression that the wall surface is too small to

tion with which the pupils were probably furnished as a basis for detailed model-studies.

(2) The red chalk drawing in the Louvre, No. 237 (*ibid.*, fig. 24), is certainly by Giulio, on the basis of the preceding drawing, but the figure of Psyche seems to have been corrected by Raphael, in the light upward movement of its line.

(3) The two beautiful red chalk drawings in the Dresden Gallery (Venturi, *op. cit.*, IX, 2, figs. 248-249) for *putti* from the vault compartments of the Farnesina are certainly by Giulio, as evidenced by their firm, curvilinear contour and their nervous excitement. Professor Fischel concurred in this attribution.

(4) The red chalk drawing in the Albertina (Dollmayr, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxvii, and Stix and Frölich-Bum, *Katalog der Handzeichnungen*, pl. 38, no. 113) for the Apollo, the red chalk drawings in the Teylormuseum, Haarlem, for the seated Hebe, and in Windsor Castle for the Three Graces, are all by Penni. They show the same proportions, anatomical peculiarities, drawing style and expression.

(5) The Albertina red chalk drawing for the spandrel of Venus, Juno, and Ceres (Stix and Frölich-Bum, *op. cit.*, pl. 29, no. 83) and the Chatsworth drawings are all late copies. The Albertina drawing, despite the metal scratches adduced by Stix, is out of the question as a contemporary production of the Raphael school.

35. Cf. the inscription above the *Battle of Constantine*; Vasari, *op. cit.*, v, p. 528, speaks of the original room as low.

36. Venturi, *Storia*, IX, 2, figs. 286 and 324; Rosenberg, *Raffaël*, p. 196.

contain the various categories of objects which are crowded into it.

(2) As the pictures proceed to the corners of the imagined tapestries, they do not in any way follow the curling motion, but continue as if no such motion were taking place, thus producing a discrepancy between the apparent surface and the represented space.

(3) This discrepancy is continued and amplified throughout the decorative system by many factors. The canopies, being round and being attached at the apices of the niches, not only project into the niches, but outward as well (Fig. 25). Had the picture plane been previously established by the use of a frame, the spectator would have felt the canopies as existing firmly within the pictorial space, but in the absence of frame or of picture plane one cannot but feel that the canopies project into the very space of the room. Other projections intensify this illusion. The allegorical figures not only sit in front of the upper podia and therefore well in front of the jambs of the niches, but not content with that surprising projection into real space, allow their feet to slip over the edge of the podia, even further toward the spectator. They even permit their attributes at times to cross in front of the supposed tapestries.

(4) Yet just as the spectator is unable to establish a picture plane or to free his mind of the impression that niches, podia, and tapestries exist in real space, he is not permitted at the imagined rear extension to establish a wall plane, for no continuous wall surface is at any time shown. He is thus confronted incessantly with the question of whether these represented objects are real or not and whether or not they project into the space wherein he stands, and in front of which they are disposed.

(5) His answers are rendered even more difficult through the sudden interruptions of the entire illusionistic system by actual stucco elements such as *stemmi* and plaques which, without any explanation, seem to float in a space in front of that occupied by the rest of the system.

The identification of real with represented space, of the space of the room with that of the picture, is a Quattrocento principle, based on ancient Roman painting.³⁷ Revived by Masaccio and the early Donatello in order to intensify the spatial reality of their compositions, it is exploited by the

late Donatello and by Mantegna in order to produce a disturbing sensation of conflicting systems similar to that achieved in the frescoes of the Sala di Costantino. Raphael had used the conceit of simulated tapestries in two different fresco compositions, that is, in the vault of the Stanza d'Eliodoro and in the ceiling of the Villa Farnesina (not to mention the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo, in which a textile forms the background for the seated sibyls). In either case the tapestries had the apparent purpose of lightening a ceiling composition; in either case they were firmly attached at many points to the simulated ribs of the vault so that they constituted a continuous ceiling surface identical with the real one and in an obvious and analyzable relation to the structural system of the entire room. Furthermore, not only did they at no time escape into the space of the room, but their own represented space was itself sharply restricted by the use of a neutral background, which maintained their character as tapestries and did not establish conflicting illusions as in the case of the Sala di Costantino.

In fact Raphael seldom permits the slightest material interchange between the real and the represented world. The picture plane is always thoroughly established by a

loggia. But the relation to classical painting becomes outspoken in such works as the Villa Pandolfini frescoes of Castagno (R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923-38, x, figs. 214-221), in which a loggia is created for the figures similar to the continuous peristyle of the Boscoreale frescoes (Curtius, *op. cit.*, figs. 70-73), and to many other classical examples, even in the typical view out over the peristyle into another space. The *Last Supper* of Castagno (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, figs. 222-225) recalls in the same fashion such spatial formulations as those of the Villa Item (Curtius, *op. cit.*, figs. 186-197), in which the figures move in a low recess, apparently continuous with the space of the room, and in front of the represented wall. This is a function of the rational, stereometric style of the early Quattrocento, bent on forcing the visible world within the confines of a complete mathematical system for the measurement of space. The greatest exponent of this style is of course Masaccio, in whose fresco of the *Holy Trinity*, in S. Maria Novella (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 187), the donors appear in front of the arch, which acts as a picture frame, and thus outside the picture, and in the real space of the room. The early Donatello uses this device in such examples as the lower register of the tomb of Pope John XXIII in Florence (P. Schubring, *Donatello, des Meisters Werke*, Stuttgart, 1907, p. 26), which show this same emergence into real space, or the angelic figures in the tabernacle in St. Peter's (*ibid.*, p. 44), which uphold the front of the tent enclosing the scene of the *Entombment*, and thus serve as a bridge from the real to the represented world.

As the rational early phase gives way to the anti-classical late Quattrocento, the harmony of the above analyzed devices is altered by all kinds of confusing tricks, as for example in the Paduan reliefs of the late Donatello (*ibid.*, pp. 110-111), whose figures outside and in front of the composition, and therefore in the space of the spectator, interlock to a surprising degree with figures inside, or in the Eremitani frescoes of Mantegna (Fritz Knapp, *Andrea Mantegna, des Meisters Gemälde und Kupferstiche*, Stuttgart, 1910, p. 15), where the figure of a Roman soldier leans outside and around a sort of rude fence already shown as being outside the limits of the picture, by being attached to the front of the frame.

37. It is a commonplace that this conception of the represented space as a sort of continuation of the real space of the room, on the other side of a transparent wall, is common in ancient mural decoration, appearing at least as early as the famous Hellenistic house at Delos (Ludwig Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* . . ., Leipzig, 1929, fig. 36), continuing through an innumerable series of Pompeian examples (*ibid.*, figs. 16, 17, 32, 35, 47, 59, 71-77, to mention only a few), and appearing in many monuments in Rome, such as the so-called House of Livia (*ibid.*, figs. 54, 55, 62, 63), not to speak of the Odyssey landscapes themselves. This device never wholly disappears from Italian painting, being present even in such prominent examples as the St. Francis series in Assisi, in which the pictures are separated by colonnettes, forming a sort of

powerful perspective frame, which no element in the picture may transgress. The one apparent exception to this rule is in the *Parnassus*, where the figures of Sappho and Aristophanes project well beyond the window frame at either side. It will be noticed, however, that at no point do these figures encroach upon the outer arch or overlap the lower cornice. This device has therefore the effect of including the window frame within the composition as a whole, and thereby reducing its disturbing effect, but not of forcing an entrance into the real space of the room.

And when Raphael uses actual stucco sculpture in his decorative systems (as in the Loggie, the Segnatura, and the Stanza d'Eliodoro), he does not leave it floating but anchors it firmly to the most stable and crucial points of the real or simulated architecture.

From the foregoing analysis it becomes clear that in the fundamental respects of the relation of illusion to reality, of elements within the system to each other, of representation to picture plane, the creator of the Sala di Costantino has broken with the basic intentions of Raphael. The Sala di Costantino as a whole cannot therefore have been based upon designs left by Raphael.³⁸

The disturbing sensations we have experienced in the system as a whole are not alleviated by the individual elements, which depart just as surely from Raphael's aesthetic. The entire surface is crowded with relatively small details, which are pervaded by intense excitement. Yet this excitement does not, as in Raphael, originate from outer space, traverse the figure and move freely into outer space again. It seems to zigzag from figure to figure in a sort of endless

chain across entire wall surfaces, writhing through tumbled draperies, setting figures into exaggerated action, whipping through serpentine scrolls and consoles, snapping forth in occasional fitful lights and in wild, fanatic glances. It is thus rarely possible to isolate clear, Raphaelian groups from the general tumult. It is likewise impossible to detach figures against pure extension in the manner of Raphael. For the spaces within the composition are as continuously broken as the surface itself. The foreground figures are never felt as round, columnar volumes, and never relax their surface tension to admit the intrusion of space. The ground plane is never presented as a surface measurable in continuous extension. It is characteristically broken by other planes, by accidents of nature, by shadows. The vertical and lateral movements constantly dominate the inward movement, but not through cylindrical masses resting on the ground, as many contacts with the ground plane are masked. Hence the impression in the architectural settings is that of a corrugated surface, like organ pipes, and in the outdoor compositions is that of a panorama. To the corrugated surface or to the ground plane the figures cling, not venturing into the void. Heads are often arranged with close adherence to the principle of iscephaly.

The disappearance of the stereometric style of Raphael is marked by an approximation of the whole surface to something like that of a late Roman sarcophagus relief, with its density of projections organized in continually fluctuating masses, with respect neither to a rigid foreground plane nor to a firm background. It is also that of Roman triumphal painting as described in literary sources,³⁹ and as embodied in the triumphal standards represented by Mantegna in his panels in Hampton Court.

The absolute consistency of the principles of composition, of types of poses, figures, drapery movement, etc. throughout the Sala di Costantino argues the invention of the entire ensemble by a single mind. In spite of the relatively large number of artisans who we know were working here, at no point do the discrepancies between individual styles and techniques affect the probable authorship of the architecture, figures, and composition as a whole. The imposing grandeur of the *Battle of Constantine*, the vast and heroic machinery of the ensemble as a whole, the overwhelming interest in architectural detail, in classical armor, etc., and the relation to Roman sarcophagus sculpture point immediately to Giulio Romano, who is spoken of by Vasari as the principal artist and the originator of the compositions.

Dollmayr's treatment of the Sala di Costantino⁴⁰ rests on

39. In respect to the tension of the interwoven fabric of figures stretched between firm uprights. This was brought to my attention by Mr. Erling C. Olsen. Cf. K. L. H. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, Berlin, 1926, pp. 123 ff.

40. "Raffaels Werkstatt," pp. 320-324. The author can see no resemblance to the *Battle of Constantine* in the drawings Dollmayr adduces.

38. In his correspondence with Michelangelo, Sebastiano del Piombo states, in a letter dated September 6, 1520 (Milanesi, *Les Correspondants de Michel-Ange*, Paris, 1890, p. 14), that the pupils of Raphael got the commission by saying they had drawings by Raphael himself for the frescoes. What the real situation was we can never know. It has been shown above, and indeed is generally accepted, that the frescoes are antagonistic to Raphael's principles. As explanation one can only suggest either that the drawings in question were "by Raphael" in the same sense that the drawing Raphael gave to Dürer was by Raphael, or that during the time which elapsed between the first abortive attempt at the frescoes and the final campaign, Giulio rejected his master's plans and substituted a new arrangement of his own. In any case, the two beautiful drawings in Chatsworth and in Oxford (Venturi, *op. cit.*, figs. 281-282) are certainly model-studies by Giulio for figures in the river in the *Battle of Constantine*, and definitely served for those figures as they appear in the fresco. The drawing attributed to Raphael by Venturi (*ibid.*, fig. 176), representing the Pope on his *sedes gestatoria*, is probably a study for a scene, later rejected, for the Sala di Costantino. The other half of the drawing is in Stockholm, as published by the author ("Drawings by Giulio Romano in the National Museum in Stockholm," *Nationalmuseumens Arsbok*, Stockholm, 1940). The drawing represents a style strikingly similar to certain portions of the *Donation of Rome*. Two cartoon drawings remain, one for the section just to the right of the Emperor in the *Battle of Constantine*, genuine, but in a bad state of preservation, in the Ambrosiana in Milan, and the other, the head of Leo X as Pope Clement I, in Chatsworth, probably by Giulio himself. Cf. Fischel in *Bollettino d'arte*, XXVIII, 1934, p. 197.

the perilous assumption that only two men could possibly have decorated the room, viz., Giulio and Penni. In what capacity could have served the other five assistants named by Vasari, Dollmayr never explains. He attributes in their entirety to Giulio the walls containing the *Vision* and the *Battle of Constantine*, and the other two *in toto* to Penni. Finally, he ignores the documents which limit Giulio's activity in the Sala di Costantino to the nine months between the accession of Clement VII, November 8, 1523, and August, 1524, the probable date of Giulio's departure for Mantua.⁴¹ He would thus have us believe that in those nine months Giulio prepared a new set of cartoons, involving hundreds of separate studies, and then executed with his own hand the complicated frescoes on those two immense walls, while Penni had till July, 1525⁴² to finish his equal share. This notion is in the highest degree improbable. Given the account in Vasari we would be led to suppose the collaboration of several assistants. Given the continued payments made to Giulio in his absence, the coherent decorative system of the room and its correspondence with Giulio's basic predilections and subsequent works, we would assume him to have designed the entire series himself. Finally, given his brief presence at the scene of the work and his apparently precipitate acceptance of the long-proffered Mantuan invitation, we would expect to find only limited and irregular areas actually completed by Giulio's hand. Had Dollmayr examined the external and internal evidence with less of a *parti pris*, this is what he would have found, for it is just what a painstaking survey of the frescoes from moving scaffolding has disclosed. Only a very restricted section of the surface shows the style of Giulio Romano in the actual execution, and this portion is on one of the walls which Dollmayr assigned to Penni. It consists principally of the foreground of the *Donation of Rome* (Fig. 16). Starting from the columns at the left, but excluding the Pope and the group directly surrounding his throne, it includes the kneeling women (Fig. 20) with the figures above them (Fig. 28), the child with the dog (Fig. 26), a second group of women, the man with the two youths and the cripple (Fig. 21), the compact group of heads and figures directly above them (Figs. 9 and 29), and the cavalier. Giulio also painted the neighboring Pope Gregory VII (Fig. 22) with his attendant figures, and the figures upholding the papal arms above (Fig. 23). To these

can be added the figure of Pope Urban I (though it has been altered by another hand) in the diametrically opposite corner of the room (Fig. 25), perhaps also the accompanying figure of *Iustitia* and the figure of *Comitas*, both in oil, and vestiges of an earlier and incompleting group of decorations.^{42a} The *Caritas* on the Pope's other side clearly shows Giulio's own hand.

It would, however, be an error to search for a style identical with that of Giulio's early activity in the Stanza dell'Incendio. This early style, something of a revolt against Raphael, was no longer necessary once the master was dead and the mantle of his authority had passed to the pupil's shoulders. A far less turbulent and brutal style, this second Roman phase of Giulio is, in fact, elegant, mannered, full of unexpected complications of line and rhythm, and without the overwhelming bulk of the *Incendio* frescoes. And it is only in this small group of sections that no dichotomy is evident between composition and execution. Only here in the entire room are we wholly free from the sense of grossness or of ineptitude in the handling of the figure.

As in the previous frescoes, the figures are organized in solid groups like blocks, whose surface is related to the foreground plane, as for example in the group of mothers at the left or in the phalanx of figures driving in from the right. Statuary hardness and resistance prevent linear movement from traversing the material essence of these figures and cause it to detour about their block-like, sudden angles. Relief sculpture is indeed the basis of the style, rather than the groups in the round which haunt later Mannerists like Daniele da Volterra.⁴³ The parallelisms of the *Fire* and the *Battle of Ostia* are worked out here on a much more systematic level, involving virtual repetition of two kneeling women on either side of the foreground, of hands, arms, and folds in any given direction. Hence a dualism in conflict with the inherent unidirectional nature of the composition leading up to the Pope at the left. The complex patterns of contours and drapery folds are analogous to those of the Stanza dell'Incendio, although on a new plane of delicacy and elegance. Compare for example the kneeling woman turning her back to the spectator in the *Fire in the Borgo* with her direct descendant on the right side of the *Donation* (Fig. 16). Her cubic displacement has been materially reduced in her new reincarnation, although her proportions and angles remain the same. Her feet have been brought around until they no longer propel her into depth at right angles to the picture plane but remain parallel to it. Sculpture in the round becomes flattened to carving in relief. The linear complications along the contour are mere

41. A letter to Baldassare Castiglione from Federigo Gonzaga (Carlo d'Arco, *Della arti e degli artefici di Mantova*, 2nd ed., Mantua, 1857, II, no. 123) shows that by August, 1524, Giulio was fully decided to leave for Mantua. That he reached there in the fall of that year is probable, his last payment on October 11 in Rome having been entrusted to Baldassare Turini da Pescia, Gonzaga ambassador at the Papal Court (E. Müntz, "Gli allievi di Raffaello durante il pontificato di Clemente VII," *Archivio storico d'arte*, I, 1888, p. 447).

42. *Ibid.*

42a. See Vasari, *Vite*, V, pp. 527-528.

43. As for example in the famous *David and Goliath* in the Louvre, where the same almost statuary group is seen from front and rear, or in the *Slaughter of the Innocents*; cf. Hermann Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, Berlin, 1920, I, pl. 31.



FIG. 9. Sala di Costantino, Donation of Rome, Detail, Giulio Romano



FIG. 10. Sala dell'Incendio, Fire in the Borgo, Detail, Giulio Romano



FIG. 11. Vatican Gallery, Coronation of the Virgin, Detail, Penni



FIG. 12. Vatican Gallery, Coronation of the Virgin, Detail, Penni



FIG. 13. Sala di Costantino, Pope Gregory VII, Detail, Giulio Romano



FIG. 14. Sala di Costantino, Pope Felix III, Detail, Raffaellino dal Colle



FIG. 15. Sala di Costantino, Pope Urban I, Detail, Sebastiano del Piombo

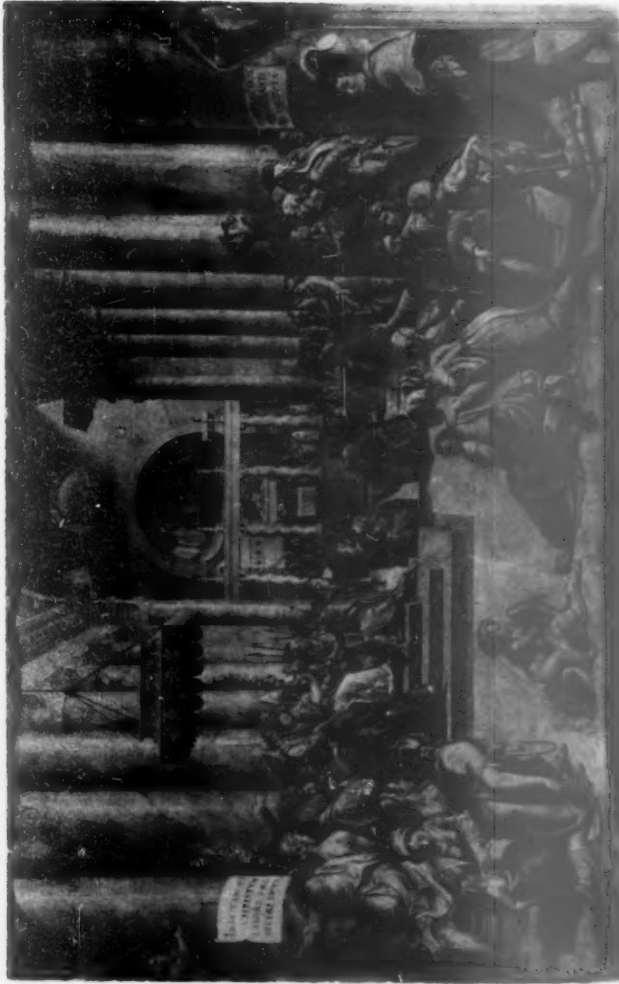


FIG. 16. Donation of Rome, Giulio Romano Assisted by Penni



FIG. 17. Donation of Rome, Detail, Penni



FIG. 18. Vision of Constantine, Detail, Raffaellino dal Colle



FIG. 19. Donation of Rome, Detail, Penni



FIG. 21

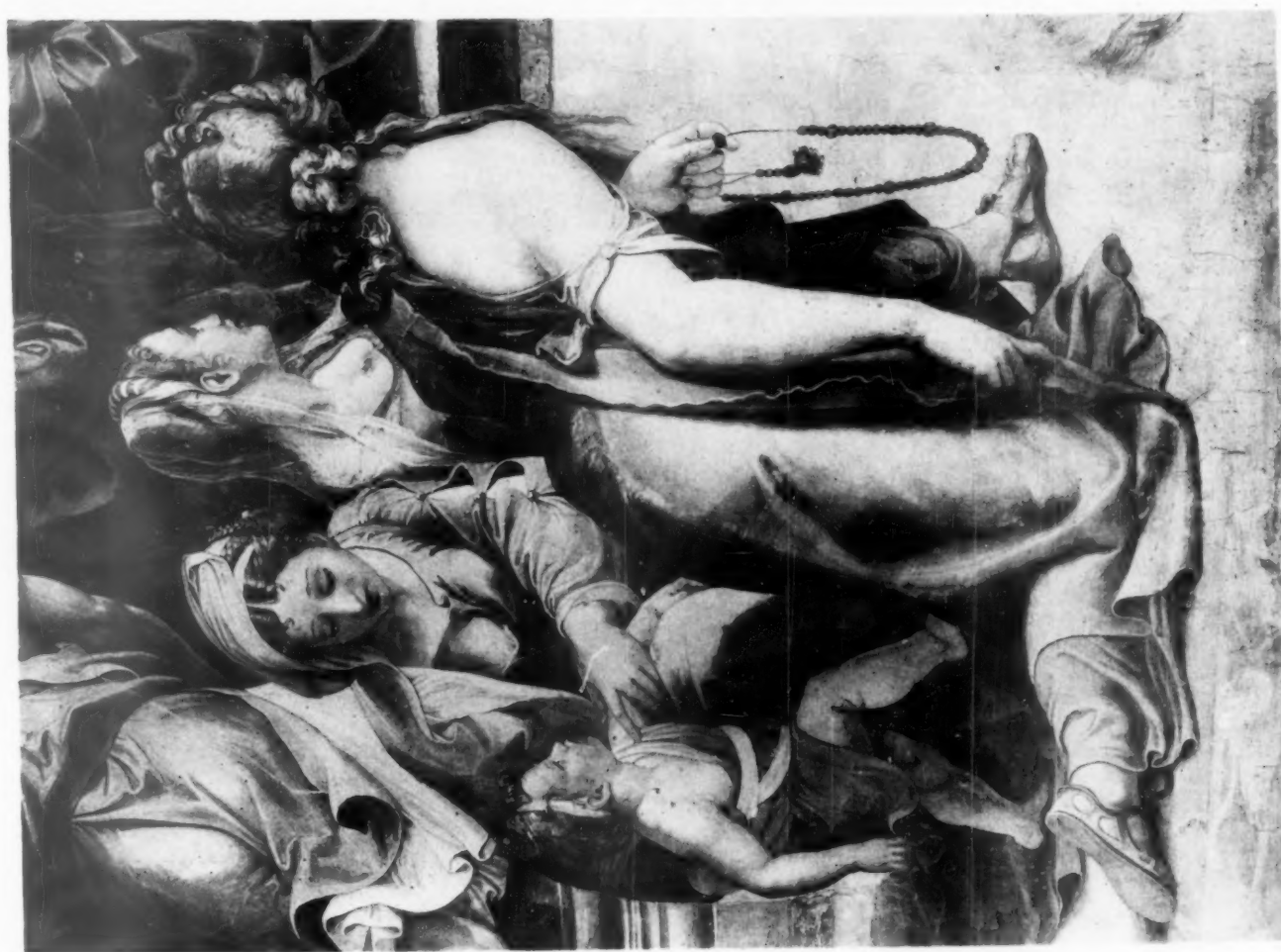


FIG. 20

FIGS. 20-21. ROME, VATICAN, SALA DI COSTANTINO: DONATION OF ROME, DETAILS, GIULIO ROMANO



FIG. 22. Pope Gregory VII, Giulio Romano



FIG. 23. Medici Arms, Giulio Romano



FIG. 24. Battle of Constantine, Detail, Raffaellino dal Colle



FIG. 25. Pope Urban I, Giulio Romano (Head by Sebastiano del Piombo)

FIGS. 22-25. ROME, VATICAN, SALA DI COSTANTINO



FIG. 26. Donation of Rome, Detail, Giulio Romano



FIG. 27. Baptism of Constantine, Detail, Penni



FIG. 28. Donation of Rome, Detail, Giulio Romano



FIG. 29. Donation of Rome, Detail, Giulio Romano

FIGS. 27-29. ROME, VATICAN, SALA DI COSTANTINO



FIG. 30. Rome, S. Maria dell'Anima: Giulio Romano, Holy Family

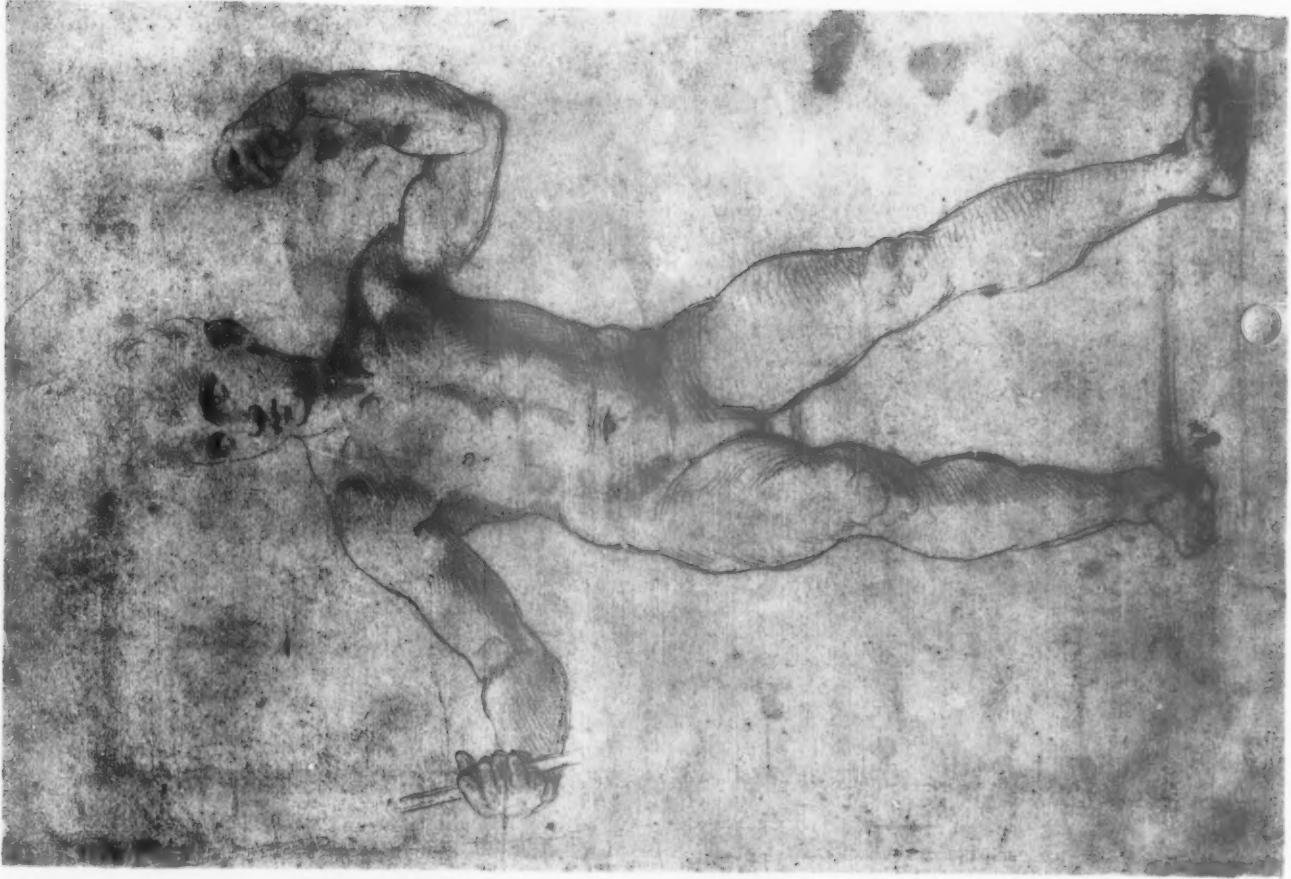


FIG. 31. Lille, Musée Vicar: Giulio Romano, King Lothaire, Drawing for Sala dell'Incendio

ripples, which hint at the existence of underlying forms, particularly along the back of the figure and around its knotty shoulder, as well as in the involved and nervous fold structure of the great sleeve. When compared with bound hair in the *Fire*, the hair of this figure conceals the spheroid character of the head beneath, contenting itself with carving the surface into rich plastic patterns. Similarly, the counterpart of this kneeling woman on the left side of the fresco (Fig. 20) has unbound locks with none of the bold curves of the loosened masses of hair in the *Fire*. They linger rather in wrinkled and lazy richness, as if drenched in fine oil, shining brilliantly in comparison to the silky, Raphael-esque inner glow of the hair in the *Fire*.

The drapery of the handsome youth clutching the pillar (Fig. 16) is derived from the great thundering folds of the *Fire*, but lacks their breadth and their stony weight, seeming instead to be carved from a more fragile material, lending itself to the gratuitous patterning characteristic of the fresco as a whole. Even the adolescent in black at the right, under the arms of the bearded man (Fig. 21), although he reflects the type, glance, and movement of the "Ascanius" from the *Fire*, converts the sincere emotion of his original into a sort of precious yearning, and his broad loose locks into delicate curls.

The artist reveals increased interest in surfaces for their own sake. Lights and highlights take on a *pastosità* in flesh and drapery, a matt glow carefully contrasted with the incessant sparkle from the flying curls. The child with the dog in the foreground (Fig. 26), for example, one of the best preserved portions of the composition, is well treated technically, his firm body maintaining a steady base for the tremulous rhythm of his sculptured contour, and contrasting in its smooth surface with the straight metallic glints so geometrically deployed along the lithe muscularity of the dog's body. His hair is characteristic in the intricacy of its spiral and shimmering curls. This threefold patterning of densely surfaced volumes, scintillating hair and complex linear rhythms creates a rich plasticity vigorously maintained throughout the foreground, and in harmony with the general expressiveness of the work. Removed from the plane of melodramatic tragedy or adventure attained in the *Incendio* to one of ceremonial magnificence, the work nonetheless releases a deep excitement, which plays back and forth throughout the groups of figures. The highest pitch of this emotion is evoked by the rather peripheral incident at the right, where a beggar interrupts the attention of a man and two boys, and instead of alms receives only angry admonitions of silence (Fig. 21). This event places the spectator amongst the Romans in the outskirts of the crowd, and at the same time increases the remoteness and impersonality of the ceremony around the throne. The strange distortions of some of these heads, the excitement in their large eyes and the flashes of light from their curls produce

an extraordinary impression. Particularly haunting is the Hellenistic face of the blond youth (Fig. 9) whose eyes are dilated with emotion, and whose heavy locks roll like serpents.

Through the occasionally precious artificiality of the scene runs a countercurrent of healthy everydayness, reaching at times almost to the point of caricature, especially as in the gnarled and tanned beggar, and the knot of bystanders above him. A Socrates-like figure emerges from the crowd next to a coarse young woman who strains forward from curiosity, and is at the same time fearful of losing her veil (Fig. 29). According to Vasari, this group is full of contemporary portraits, including that of Giulio himself.⁴⁴ In the absence of any unquestionable early portrait of Giulio it is not possible to locate the figure with accuracy, but the choice certainly lies between the bearded man above the beggar and the man looking out from behind the column. Both figures are fairly close to the much later self-portrait by Giulio in the Uffizi,⁴⁵ and both are similar to the suggested portrait of Giulio in the foreground of the double portrait by Raphael in the Louvre.⁴⁶

The new style may therefore be defined as one of artificial virtuosity, of almost musical inventiveness. Contrapuntal interplay of metallic lines and volumes replaces the homophonic style of Raphael. The world of space is now but a function of human intelligence, a material for elegant artistry, to be spun out and intertwined like a fine ceremony or a clever speech; lower though the spiritual level may be, the result, in its oratorical grandeur, is impressive.

The background of the fresco is actually by Penni (Figs. 16, 17, and 19), starting with the seated Pope Sylvester, the three prelates directly behind him and the youth seated on the dais (a pose repeated by Giulio in three different places at a later date),⁴⁷ and swinging across to the profile of the enshadowed column at the right. Within this homogeneous strip the identity of Penni is disclosed by the comparative weakness of the forms and shallowness of the emotional content. The surface is soft and hazy, irregularly streaked and muddy. On the occasions when the two stretches are contiguous, the contrast of Giulio's dense volumes against the soft shimmer of Penni's forms is striking. Moreover, Penni's figures all possess the dumpy proportions, tiny bones, and plump muscles which we have learned to recognize in the Farnesina ceiling and elsewhere. If

44. *Vite*, v, p. 531. Vasari mentions portraits of Baldassare Castiglione, of Giulio himself, of Pontano and of the poet Marullo. This has been already noted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Raphael*, II, p. 532.

45. A drawing, unpublished, in the Uffizi which served as the basis for Vasari's engraving.

46. Cf. Suida's introduction to *Raphael*, Phaidon ed., p. 18.

47. In one of the lunettes for the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Te, in a medallion in the Sala delle Medaglie, and in the picture of *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (a copy) in the collection of Georg Gronau in London.

specific parallels are needed, the face and forearm of the kneeling Constantine (Fig. 19) may be compared with those of the figure of Venus standing in the *Council of the Gods* on the Farnesina ceiling (Fig. 8), and his feet and gold drapery with those of the Ganymede kneeling in the *Nuptials of Cupid and Psyche*.

It is highly possible that the background of this fresco contains still more portraits, and the writer was struck by the representation of an elderly man with his arm about the shoulder of a more youthful bearded figure (Fig. 17), which could well be Bramante with the mature Raphael — if true, a document of great importance. The old man certainly resembles the portraits of Bramante from the Stanze, and the younger one is close to the late portraits of Raphael, as for example in Marcantonio's engraving.⁴⁸

The *amorini*, some peaceful, some lyrical, some inspired, who uphold the triregnum and the rings of the Medici arms (Fig. 23), in spite of the repaint which disfigures them here and there, disclose the identity of their creator, who can be no other than the Giulio responsible for the baby and the dog in the *Donation*. The bodies have the same sculptural firmness, the same incisive rhythmic contour, the same strong, cubic displacement and also the same inner excitement exposed in the powerful glances and the luminous display in the curls, some clustering, some streaming, some fluffy and sparkling. The formation of the head and eyes of the *putto* in the upper left hand corner can only be compared with that of his older cousin, the youth above the cripple in the *Donation* (Fig. 9). And the upward-gazing child to the right of the triregnum, perhaps the most Raphaellesque thing Giulio ever did, reminds one forcibly of the rapt children in the *Mass at Bolsena*, which Giulio might have watched his master paint.

The sure, short curves of the outlines and the consequent statuary discreteness of the forms diminish only when masked by maudlin *rifacimenti* of the end of the sixteenth century, in all probability the result of damages inflicted during the painting of the ceiling by Tommaso Laureti. They are sharply visible in the caryatid who upholds the bow-like console with one hand and the curtain ring with the other. Certain sections are relatively intact, but the expression has been altered by repainting around the eyes, and the belly and pudenda have been completely and badly reworked. The same is true of the female counterpart to the right of the canopy (Fig. 22).

The Pontiff below, however, seems to have escaped the fate of the two caryatids. St. Gregory with his attendant Virtue (Figs. 13 and 22) and his *angioletti* is certainly from the hand of Giulio. The whole surface has a brilliance and a translucency of color which make it a part of the entire wall, a wall which, in comparison to the other three, fairly shines. Every detail of the composition is rich with the same

sort of firm plasticity we have found to be characteristic of Giulio, but nowhere is this quality more unmistakable than in the smartly painted head of the Pope, actuated by the nervous excitement of Giulio as the full eyes express the entire attempt of the personality to put the revelation into words. The surface displays the expected even strokes related to each other like iron filings in a magnetic field, and the light and dark hairs of the beard form two contrasting networks, crossing each other with an effect of sharpness and transparency, yet pervaded by the same curvilinear and systematic rhythms. The head of the sympathetic *putto* to the Pope's right is characteristic of Giulio's conception of these little beings, who gambol throughout his paintings and drawings. The *putto* holding ink resembles closely the soldier before Leo in the *Battle of Ostia* (Fig. 1).

Only in one other portion of the frescoes is it now possible to find the hand of Giulio (with the possible exception of the already mentioned figures of *Iustitia* and *Comitas*), and that is in the tender figure of *Caritas* beside Pope Urban I (Fig. 25), so startlingly similar to the *Madonna della Gatta* in Naples (Fig. 33), a picture in all probability executed around this general period. The lowermost child repeats the facial type and peculiar hysteria of the mailed soldier beside the Pope's throne in the *Battle of Ostia* (Fig. 1), and the yearning angel on the Pontiff's left is intensely Raphaellesque. That on his right, however, is so dry and so pedestrian that it seems logical to attribute its execution to another hand. As to the figure of the Pope himself, to declare the authorship of the drapery would be to squeeze the evidence beyond what it is disposed to relinquish. The face (Fig. 15), however, is repainted in oil directly over Giulio's original fresco surface which, in some instances, shows through; it represents indubitably the familiar face of Clement VII, not before but after the Sack of Rome in 1527, when he allowed his white beard to grow quite long. This securely dates the representation several years after the completion of the last payments to the Raphael school in 1525. The combination of a portrait of Clement VII, a colorism which can only be described as Venetian, and the influence of Michelangelo points toward Sebastiano del Piombo, who must have executed this very impressive portrait.⁴⁹

We have seen that in reality Penni's performance in the *Donation* was united by a strip of background figures; in the *Baptism* we shall find almost the opposite to be true. Only part of the background is by Penni, whereas a good section of the center foreground (Fig. 27) shows the unmistakable signs of his peculiar mentality. To be precise, the

49. This was noticed by Fischel (Thieme-Becker) and earlier by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*op. cit.*, II, p. 535). The resemblance both as a portrait and as an example of Sebastiano's style is indubitable. Cf. known portraits of Clement by Sebastiano in Naples and Parma (Venturi, *Storia*, IX, 5, figs. 36 and 37).

48. Rosenberg, *Raffaël*, p. xl.

Penni section is limited as follows: the Pope, Constantine, the acolyte holding the towel, the kneeling priest with the amphora and the basin, the courtier in zigzag stripes to the right of the niche in the center, the group of heads directly below, the old man in the loin-cloth at the right, the nude Raphaelesque child whose hand he holds and the Roman soldier alongside. These figures display all the most easily recognizable Penni characteristics — the soft and pretty pictorial surfaces, pudgy proportions, small chests, round shoulders, plump knees, stubby hands, and flat, vapid faces. The usual delicate nervousness and diffidence prevail both aesthetically and psychologically. Certain passages, particularly the background heads, remind one strongly of similar passages in the background of the *Donation*, and indeed have the same pictorial transparency and freedom of brushing, and occasional figures seem lifted from the background of the *Fire in the Borgo*.

The quality of the other figures of the patchwork composition is so startlingly low as to preclude the possibility of their execution by the at least competent hand of the Fattore. In their plastery dryness these figures suggest the Hand D already isolated in the *Oath of Leo*, to which the facial types are very close. To this Hand D should be given the entire block of figures at the left of the ceremony, from the pointing courtier to the bishop, and at the right the seated page holding the emperor's armor, the standing, coroneted prince, and the female head emerging from behind the column.

The remaining figures show still another hand. They consist of the bishop's head half concealed by the shoulder of the Pope, the crucifer and, skipping the Penni group, the right-hand candle-bearer. The wretched painter responsible for these heads is of interest to us only because his activity is traceable almost throughout the frescoes of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua as an assistant to Giulio. His brutal style bears certain unmistakable characteristics. He separates the head into distinct, rounded lumps; his mouths always have an immensely protruding upper lip, fixed in a snarl. These trademarks may be verified by a comparison of the head of the bishop directly behind the Pope's shoulder with the heads of the attendants holding the ewer and basin for Eros in the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Te.⁵⁰ The only assistant of Giulio's known to have worked both in Rome and Mantua is Benedetto Pagni da Pescia, who, according to Vasari, actually accompanied Giulio from Rome to Mantua.⁵¹ He is, moreover, the only one of the Roman assistants, with the exception of Penni (whose Mantuan sojourn appears to have been brief and stormy),⁵² who is mentioned in the Gonzaga account books as receiving payments for

paintings in the Palazzo del Te.⁵³ When documentary and stylistic evidence corroborate each other, we have good reason for supposing our assumption to be correct. Hand E therefore ought to be considered as that of Benedetto Pagni da Pescia.

Despite the magnificence of the remaining compositions, so enormously influential particularly on Rubens,⁵⁴ it must be said that the participation of Giulio Romano in the *Battle of Constantine* and the *Vision of Constantine* can have extended no further than the design.⁵⁵ He must have worked out all these figures himself, but the execution is so gross as to preclude his participation. If feeling for form, drawing of musculature, features and drapery, surface coloration, and texture be trustworthy criteria, Hand C, the presumed Raffaellino dal Colle, executed the major portion of the *Battle* (Fig. 24) and the *Vision*, as well as the figures of Pope Felix III (Fig. 14), St. Peter, and the figure of Sylvester I already assigned to Raffaellino by Patzak.⁵⁶ In all these portions we may observe the same

53. Carlo d'Arco, *Istoria della vita e delle opere di Giulio Pippi Romano*, 2nd ed., Mantua, 1842, appendix II, payment accounts, document no. 4, p. x.

54. Especially in the Decius Mus tapestry cartoon series, and in the *Battle of the Amazons* in Munich, where the magnificent concept of the group fighting over the bridge is definitely inspired by the *Battle of Constantine*.

55. The only important remaining designs are the magnificent Chatsworth head of Leo X, destined for the portrait of Clement I, and the large cartoon fragment for the *Battle*, in the Ambrosiana. The former is entirely by Giulio, but the state of the latter renders attribution difficult. It is possibly from Giulio's hand.

56. *Die Villa imperiale in Pesaro*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 225 ff. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 533-536, recognized the presence of Raffaellino in these frescoes, although the author cannot wholly agree with their partitioning of the walls amongst the various hands. Patzak assigned the *Donation of Rome* to Raffaellino as well, following an old tradition (cf. Passavant, *Raphael d'Urbino*, II, p. 504). The *Vision of Constantine* perhaps more than any other recalls the work of Raffaellino as we know it in Umbria. The treatment and coloring of the painting are astonishingly like that in the frescoes of the lives of Sts. Placidus and Maurus in S. Pietro in Gubbio (unpublished), and the figure drawing extremely similar to the *Resurrection* in Borgo (Venturi, *op. cit.*, IX, 5, fig. 347). The gross blunders of scale, the peculiar drawings of features, the background landscape and all, are repeated in the *Assumption* in Città di Castello (*ibid.*, fig. 343). The background of the *Vision of Constantine* consists of a Roman landscape whose principal details may be recognized, especially the tomb of Hadrian, which Giulio restores in the form of two superimposed circular peristyles on a cubic base, ending in a tumulus surmounted by a statue. From the tomb, the Aelian Bridge (which the seventeenth century transformed into the Ponte Sant'Angelo) arches the Tiber. On the farther bank, considerably out of place, the Mausoleum of Augustus is outlined against the shaggy slopes of the Pincio. As the Tiber swings to the left, it cuts between us and the Campus Martius, with what appears to be the Stadium of Domitian, disappearing into the distance along the plains dominated by Monte Mario. The landscape is painted with a certain ease recalling later landscapes by Raffaellino in Pesaro and Gubbio. In the *Battle of Constantine* we again have a partially recognizable landscape, centered about the Milvian Bridge, behind which stretch the long ridges of the Sabine Hills, with here and there a *borgata*, the chief one of which

50. G. K. Loukouski, *Jules Romain*, Paris, 1932, pl. 59.

51. *Op. cit.*, V, pp. 533 and 535.

52. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 646. Penni in Mantua "was so little welcomed by Giulio that he left quickly."

grossness of drawing, the same greasy surface feeling we have already seen in the *Coronation of Charlemagne*. To Hand D we may assign the remaining three popes and a series of background heads as dry and chalky as anything we have seen in the *Oath of Leo*.

The late Professor Fischel pointed out to the author⁵⁷ that the blond-bearded companion of the emperor (Fig. 18) bears a strong resemblance to the engraved portrait of Penni which stands at the head of Vasari's chapter on the Fattore. It is thus wholly possible that under the guise of the emperor we have an idealized portrait of Giulio, as the dark curls, broad, receding brow, large eyes with wide-spread brows, strong, straight nose, and curly beard bring to mind the features of the Uffizi self-portrait.

In recapitulation, Dollmayr divided the frescoes equally between Giulio and Penni, giving each one two walls. The writer, on the other hand, has uncovered a far more complex and plausible situation. The coherency of the designs demonstrates their authorship by Giulio. Giulio started first the foreground figures in the *Donation* (given by Dollmayr to Penni), and completed this section, as well as the figures of Pope Gregory VII and Urban I, before he was called to Mantua in the autumn of 1524. At this time the other pupils continued the unfinished works after Giulio's designs. Penni, always best on a small scale, completed the *Donation* and did large sections of the *Baptism*, assisted by Pagni before the latter's departure with Giulio, and thereafter by Hand D. The *Battle* and the *Vision* (attributed entirely to Giulio by Dollmayr) were executed by Raffaellino and Hand D after Giulio's designs.

The problems arising from the panel pictures by the late Raphael and his school are complicated by the comparative subtlety of oil technique, by the more thoroughgoing restoration possible in oil, by the greater scarcity of documents for small works, and by the multiplicity of repetitions or imitations, not necessarily by members of the Raphael shop, very few of which can be dealt with in such a study as this. It may be well to commence with a consideration of the Madonna of the Louvre, designed by Raphael in 1518 as a gift from Leo X to Francis I, which has always been known as a composite production of the Raphael school.⁵⁸ With its great X-form, isolating a pyramid in the center, the composition must have been Raphael's own, and the general poses and types must also have been determined by

Raphael.⁵⁹ But there can be no doubt that the figures of the Madonna and Child were, as Dollmayr claimed, the work of Giulio. The Madonna (Fig. 40) is too similar to the grand Venus before whom Psyche kneels in the Farnesina, the Child too close to some of the heroic *putti* in the *Fire in the Borgo*; the Child displays all the intensity of Giulio's figures, the Mother the splendid coldness of the female figures of the Sala di Costantino. Her marble eyelids and brows and her honeyed hair are typical of Giulio's formulations of female beauty, especially in conjunction with the abundance of the figure itself. Giulio's proportions are equally evident in the extreme length of the torso, together with the tendency of the legs to seem powerless in contrast to it. The poses and contours are Giulio's with their insistent angularity and their emphasis rather upon the small linear elements than upon the general swirl of an entire figure or group.

But in the question of the remaining figures Dollmayr

59. This painting is iconographically somewhat unusual. In the upper right is Joseph, absent from Raphael's Holy Families since the *Canigiani Madonna*, on the upper left an angel holding a bouquet of flowers, and in the center, recognizable by her flowing tresses, passionate gaze and hands crossed on her bosom, the Magdalen, appearing for the first and only time in a Raphael Holy Family composition. The elegant headdress and princely beauty of the female saint in the *Impannata* make probable her identification with St. Catherine. Perhaps the most unusual detail of the painting was pointed out by Dollmayr who, however, did not draw the self-evident conclusion. The angel holding flowers is taken over directly from the *Nuptials of Cupid and Psyche*, in the Farnesina, obviously done from the same working drawing. But the cradle is unusual, not only because it never turned up previous to this time in Raphael's work, but particularly because it is made of stone, and has a definite allusion to the sarcophagus, a connection which derives from the very well-spring of Christian iconography, the identification of Messiah and Victim in Christ. Cf. the replacing in Byzantine Nativities of the shed mentioned in the text by the cave which alludes to the cave of the Sepulchre. For the assimilation of Madonna and Child groups with the Pietà, following the same vein in Christian symbolism, cf. the admirable study by Gizella Firestone in *Marsyas*, II, 1942, pp. 43 ff. In the Louvre Madonna, as Miss Firestone also noticed, the Child does not merely lie in or play near this sarcophagus-cradle; He leaps joyously out of it to embrace His mother. This prophetic reference to the Resurrection is hardly to be overlooked.

We must look for an explanation in the circumstances surrounding the commission of the picture. Leo hoped for an alliance between himself and Francis, to which end the Pope's nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, was married to the King's kinswoman, Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, and this picture was ordered to commemorate the marriage. Beneath the veil of apparent iconographic conventionality in the Louvre picture is a fully developed allegory of the new alliance. The Magdalen is the patron saint of the bride, Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne. The angel with the bouquet of flowers is a nuptial angel, identical with his functional counterpart in the Farnesina fresco. The promise of salvation through the Resurrection of Christ is fulfilled in the arms of His mother, the Virgin who is from the early Middle Ages the type and symbol of the Church, the repository of the Body of Christ. The above considerations account for the air of ceremonial solemnity of the picture which celebrates by means of veiled allusions the benefits to be conferred upon Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne through this alliance with the power of the Church.

seems to be Sant'Angelo Romano or perhaps Montecelio. The dim mountain to the left is certainly Soratte, while Monte Mario has been shoved back so as to put in an appearance at the extreme left, this in order to display the unfinished Villa Madama, built for Clement VII when still a cardinal, and in the execution of which Giulio's part is still far from clear.

57. Verbally, 1938.

58. According to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 398, by Raphael with much assistance from Giulio. Passavant, *op. cit.*, II, p. 258, sees assistance from Giulio, but notes the high quality of the Joseph head.

has erred in dividing the painting between Giulio and Penni neatly along a line running from lower left to upper right. In the early states of the writer's investigations it was already apparent that the Giulio portion consisted only of the central pyramid, whose hardness and tension contrasted so sharply with the broader *sfumato* of the rest of the picture. Not only was this true, but the background figures seemed to have very little to do with Penni either. Later study revealed that Penni painted none of the background figures, and also that the Joseph (Fig. 41) was of an astonishingly high quality, far beyond the powers, not alone of Penni, but of any of Raphael's pupils. Convinced that the figure was by Raphael himself, the writer showed the detail to the late Professor Fischel, and was gratified at his enthusiastic approval of the suggestion. Immense in volume and profound in its inwardness, the figure broods above the mannered Giulio Madonna like a being from another world. Folds gather round it in a broad circular movement in space; the mountainous head rests upon the hand which continues this same movement, now upward and inward upon the aged mind, the whole force of which is concentrated upon the scene below. The figure stems from one of the noblest traditions in Italian art, exemplified by the Joseph of Giotto in Padua, the bearded apostles of Masaccio's *Tribute Money*, Ghiberti's St. John from the Baptistery doors, Michelangelo's Jeremiah and Raphael's own Pythagoras. It resembles the Isaiah in Sant'Agostino, the St. Paul in the Bologna *Saint Cecilia*, the St. Peter of the Vatican *Deliverance*, and some of the mightiest apostle heads in the London cartoons. In the unimpeded motion of line and volume, the broad, live surfaces and the pure spirit within, the figure demonstrates the basic formal and spiritual principles of Raphael.

The remaining figures do not, in the opinion of the writer, at all justify Dollmayr's ascription to Penni. The sibylline figure of Elizabeth with her turban and her gnarled old hand is unmistakably close to the renderings of the same figure in Giulio's *Gatta* and *Perla* Madonnas. But the Magdalen (Fig. 40), the Baptist and the angel, by their undefined facial planes, enshadowed eyes and brightly lighted upper lips contrasting with the dusky corners of the mouth betray the personality of Raffaellino dal Colle. We have only to compare these heads with such details as the Apollo and Mars from the *Council of the Gods* in the Farnesina (Figs. 7 and 8) to have their authorship made quite clear. Dollmayr dismisses all the drawings corresponding to the picture as copies. He was certainly mistaken in the case of the magnificent Giulio drawing in the Uffizi,⁶⁰ for the figure of the Child, and the drawing for the Madonna in the Louvre, also by Giulio.⁶¹

In the *Madonna of Francis I* we encounter a collabora-

tion which must have been fairly typical of the Raphael school in the last busy years of the master's life. How far the general composition is attributable to Raphael himself is difficult to determine in the absence of material evidence. But one may at least point out that the great X-form which dominates the composition is essentially the same X which appears in other late works of the Raphael school, as for example the *Spasimo di Sicilia*, and this prevalent X-form makes the invention of the composition by Raphael most probable. And it is very illuminating for the late Raphael that the only detail of the picture which compelled the artist's personal execution was that which gave him the opportunity to delineate meditative and prophetic old age.

The coloring of the picture is strangely sharp and acrid. The Madonna's gown is of bright red, coming to yellow in the high lights, against her blue mantle. Joseph is in dull green with a brown cloak. The angel's robe displays already a sort of *couleur changeant*, and red feathers glow from his blue wings. The elaborated patterning of the marble floor foreshadows the mazes and intricate pavements of the Palazzo del Te.

The immensely influential picture of *Saint Michael* in the Louvre poses few problems,⁶² Dollmayr's contention that the picture was designed by Raphael and executed by Giulio is well justified. The broad, free spiral of the floating figure is profoundly Raphaellesque; the colossal angel swings through space with the same ease as the heavenly messengers of the *Expulsion of Heliodorus*. The figure is wonderfully foreshortened, so that his head serves as a pivot about which revolves the whole group of wings, arms and legs, and the flying drapery, to discharge their accumulated energy through the downward-directed glance and spear of the warrior angel. And the tendency of the great bulk to soar in free space by virtue of this spiral movement is typical of Raphael's latest years. This much certainly indicates an origin in the mind of Raphael, at least in the form of a sketch. But, knowing what we do of the artists of the busy workshop, it is reasonable to suppose that Raphael gave to pupils the duty of studying the forms from living models, and of executing the enormous picture in all its details. It would be difficult to maintain the supposition that Penni was here engaged; not a trace can we discover of his sugary style. The weight, solemnity and force of the figure, together with the undercurrent of demonic fantasy, proclaim at every point the personality of Giulio. It is his hand, moreover, that loads the free movement of Raphael's line with the rich intricacies of the floating scarves, and that creates the heavy *sfumato* which fills the atmosphere.

62. Rosenberg, *Raffaello*, fig. 158. It is difficult to make any sure statement about condition because of the heavy coating of varnish and dirt. The color scheme, isolating metallic blues and golds against smoky landscape backgrounds, is prophetic of the scheme used in the ceiling decorations of the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Te, and is characteristically Giulio.

60. Venturi, *op. cit.*, IX, 2, fig. 268.

61. *Ibid.*, fig. 269.

In mood and drawing the foreshortened Satan is strikingly reminiscent of one of the captives in the *Battle of Ostia*, and is even prophetic of the giants of the Palazzo del Te. The cold elegance of the classic face of Michael⁶³ forms against this a contrast typical of Giulio Romano, and the rich and wild landscape, sweeping from the flame-licked chasms below to the distant wooded ranges and misty sea, is perfectly in the mood of Giulio's landscape productions.⁶⁴ Furthermore there is an unclassical tendency to fit the voluminous Raphael figure into a relief plane, and to lock the outlines into a pattern dependent on the frame, thus enriching the surface design while hampering the free mobility of the figures.

The accompanying picture of *Saint Margaret* is undecipherable as far as the central figure is concerned.⁶⁵ Nor is the crust of dirt the only reason. The saint herself was entirely repainted, possibly as late as the early nineteenth century. But previous writers have neglected to note that the painter who substituted his own insipid conception of St. Margaret for the Raphaellesque original spared us the dragon. Hardly a touch of repaint spoils this gorgeous monster, who opens himself up like the doorway of the Palazzo Zuccari. Again the wildness of the fantasy points to Giulio, as do the huge rhythms of the body, the jaws, and the wavy tongue. Moreover the plasticity of many of the details is identical with that of Giulio's known productions — one has only to compare the shape, surface treatment and *impasto* of the curious passage above the beast's wing with the rock in the foreground of the *Perla* (Fig. 32). The beast's expression makes one think of the marvellous winged lion in the *Madonna dell' Anima*, or of the cat in the *Gatta*.

Despite the revulsion of feeling which has in recent decades swept Raphael's *Transfiguration* from the high place it formerly occupied in critical estimation, this panel remains one of the most exalted pictures left us by Christian art. Perhaps in no other work of the Renaissance is the spirituality of Christianity embodied at once with such purity and such power; nowhere else could it find so sympathetic an instrument as in the calm mind of Raphael, whose openness to spiritual energy as the transcendent reality here almost annihilates the historical gap separating him from the mystical artists of the seventeenth century. Whatever may be said of the rest of the picture, there can be no doubt that in most of its essential aspects the upper half is the real Raphael. By the effulgence breaking through the clouds this upper region is changed into a sort of translunary world, traversed by the figure of the divine Redeemer and His

soaring prophets. Through them and through the clouds and through the bodies of the prostrate apostles courses an uninterrupted current of energy in the form of a great wheel, to whose harmonious revolution matter can offer no resistance. Moses and Elijah, released from earth, can contemplate the form and radiance of Deity; not so the storm-swept apostles, still struggling in the bonds of matter, and thus forced to shade their eyes from the stupendous light and cleave to their earthly prison.

The energy of this wheel is at once centripetal and centrifugal, as well as revolving. For the prophets triumphantly, the apostles as yet vainly, seek the fountainhead of spirit at the wheel's bright center. From this center two great forces, light and wind, stream outward, the one to irradiate the surrounding material world, the other to set it in motion. Hence the illuminated ground, the drapery blown backward, the tossing trees. The utter freedom of the drapery movement about and beyond the figures is typical of Raphael's drapery style at its finest. Such passages as the flutter behind the figure of Moses or the spirals sweeping about the apostle at the lower right reveal an intensity of feeling about which there can be no question. Indeed the only really dubious detail in the entire upper portion of the picture is, strangely enough, the face of Christ,⁶⁶ which presents the sharpest contrast to the spirituality of the rest of the work. This mask is actually insipid. The eyes, which look upward without conviction, the soft and insensitive mouth, the plumpness of the cheeks and nose, the general vacuity of the expression, force us to seek elsewhere than in Raphael. Almost certainly this head is by the Fattore, Gianfrancesco Penni.

But when we come to the lower portion of the picture (Figs. 34 and 35), we find ourselves on contested ground. According to most authorities the entire lower half was executed by Raphael's students after the master's death.⁶⁷ The division was clean, and the picture, finished above, empty below, hung over Raphael's bier. From the unfinished Renaissance pictures which remain to us, we can be fairly sure that such a procedure would have been as unusual for the Renaissance as it seems unsound from the point of view of common sense. And we have already noticed that the head of Christ at the very least must have been left unfinished at Raphael's death. Professor Fischel, with his usual insight into Raphael's style, made quite clear that the heroic figure of St. Matthew at the lower left was Raphael's own creation (Fig. 34).⁶⁸ Fire and shadow start from the rugged head; in one free, voluminous and endless spiral the

63. Like a Roman Medusa.

64. As in the London and Hampton Court pictures, or the Louvre *Triumph of Titus and Vespasian*.

65. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Raphael*, II, p. 479, could not accept this picture as from the Raphael school at all.

66. Cf. illustrations in Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

67. The complete literature on the picture is analyzed by Hans Luetgens, *Rafaels Transfiguration in der Kunstliteratur der letzten vier Jahrhunderte*, Göttingen, 1929.

68. Verbally to the author (who agrees), 1938; suggested also by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 497.

cloak sweeps about the figure; the chiaroscuro is prophetic of Caravaggio and of Rembrandt. No one save Raphael could conceive such depth in the affective life of the individual, such light, sure mastery of construction, such utter spontaneity in the play of energies. Dollmayr points to the nude model-drawing in the Albertina⁶⁹ as proof that this figure is by Penni, with the greater misfortune, as this sheet is almost certainly a seventeenth-century copy. But the splendid cartoon drawing by Raphael, the Oxford study for the heads of the youthful and bearded apostles above St. Matthew, long labored under an attribution to Maratta! Most surprising of all, however, is the fact that two of the noblest drawings Raphael ever made have, in the whole history of Raphael literature, escaped sure connection with the *Transfiguration*,⁷⁰ although they are absolutely recognizable as heads from the group of apostles in the lower half of the painting. Both are in Chatsworth, one (Fig. 44) is for the apostle who looks downward at the extreme left, the other (Fig. 45) is certainly the apostle whose upward gesture is so essential a part of the whole composition. Both are of great beauty. The existence, then, of three genuine Raphael drawings for the left half of the lower register makes it practically certain that the rest of that portion was also designed in detail by Raphael, and highly probable that many other figures were actually blocked in on the panel by the time Raphael had brought the St. Matthew to such a degree of perfection. The writer, however, cannot agree with either Fischel or Stix in the attribution of the splendid Albertina drawing for three of the background figures,⁷¹ which is neither Raphael nor Penni, but fairly typical of Giulio in its relief construction and stiff patterning.

In any case the group at the right of the picture makes its dramatic entrance in a bombastic vein very foreign to the translucent humanity of Raphael. In the possessed boy and his attendants as well as in the majestic figure of the kneeling woman we recognize the author of the *Incendio* and *Donation* figures, already well on his way toward the

Palazzo del Te. Indeed the female head just to the left of the demoniac lad is astonishingly like that of Venus from the first octagon in the Sala di Psiche, down to the very drawing of the planes around eye, nose, and mouth. The statuary grandeur of the kneeling woman (Fig. 35) recalls similar Junoesque women from the *Incendio*. In both we have the same columnar feeling, which establishes a cylindrical vertical axis at the expense of the *contrapposto*, which thus appears arranged rather than natural. A firm and continuous contour is established, which clearly isolates not only the figure but every passage of form along its edge, in contradistinction to Raphael's outline, which now silhouettes a form, now loses it. Nor can the author of these figures display any of the broad, spiral rhythms Raphael has exhibited to such effect elsewhere in the picture. Cold, mannered, distinguished, fanatical—these are terms which bring Giulio's personality to mind as instantly as would the brilliant hardness of surface and drawing and the intricate inventions of drapery pattern, or the complicated and gorgeous headdress. In all probability the entire block on the lower right belongs to him. But their affirmative plasticity and dense, marbly substance separate these figures clearly from the softer, gentler ones to their left and above St. Matthew. We are led to expect, therefore, that these subsidiary figures were executed by Penni, and to ascribe what quality they possess to the presence of the Raphael and Giulio drawings. The one extant study for the Giulio group is a really splendid model-drawing for the head and shoulders of the kneeling woman, hitherto unpublished, and certainly from Giulio's own hand (Fig. 43).

Two large and famous Madonna panels, the *Perla*⁷² in Madrid (Figs. 32 and 38) and the *Gatta*⁷³ in Naples (Fig. 33), are closely related to each other,⁷⁴ not only in the set-

72. The picture is encrusted with black grime and old varnish, and affected also by the darkening characteristic of the pigments Giulio employed at this period. It is comparatively free, however, from signs of repaint.

73. In fairly good condition, although the varnish is too heavy and somewhat cracked, very badly in the smoky shadows, so that forms are obscured. There is little repainting except for gross attempts at mending certain cracks in the wood.

74. The iconography of these panels requires interpretation, especially as regards the identity of the old woman, who ought to be St. Anne (as the Virgin is seated on her knee, or at least supported on it), yet who looks precisely like the St. Elizabeth in the *Madonna of Francis I*, and in the Prado *Visitation*. The answer is probably to be sought in the relation to Leonardo's *Madonna with St. Anne*, whose composition is already repeated in the problematic Prado Madonna connected with the early Raphael, particularly as regards the wonderful iconographic motive of the Child playing with the Lamb, i.e., with His own Passion. The *Holy Family with St. Elizabeth* is an altogether different subject. It appears for the first time in Raphael's work in the Canigiani panel in Munich, where St. Elizabeth emerges as a distinct type, a wrinkled old matron with a white coif, bearing the young Baptist upon her lap. But the mysteriously youthful St. Anne of Leonardo's Louvre panel is not repeated by the followers of Leonardo, nor, as a matter of fact, does she appear in Leonardo's own drawings for the

69. "Raffaels Werkstatt," pl. xxxviii, and Stix and Frölich-Bum, *Katalog der Handzeichnungen*, pl. 38, no. 115. The Chatsworth version of this drawing looks better, but is still a copy. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, p. 495, accept the Albertina drawing.

70. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*op. cit.*, II, p. 489, note, and p. 306, note) mention only the drawing of the apostle with the pointing hand, saying that it "looks as if it might have been used for the disciple pointing towards the mount in the 'Transfiguration.'" Nonetheless, they believe it to have really been made for the head of St. Paul in the *Sacrifice at Lystra*, from which it differs in age, pose, lighting, character, and direction.

71. Stix and Frölich-Bum, *op. cit.*, pl. 28, no. 78. The drawing is almost identical in style with the sheet sent to Dürer, and displays none of the free, rotary movement of Raphael. *Ibid.*, no. 70, cannot be other than a copy after the head in the finished picture, in spite of its high quality. It is radically different in style from the preceding head-drawings by Raphael and Giulio.

ting but in the general configuration, even to the direction of the sharp side-lighting. The categorical attribution of both pictures to Giulio, at least as regards execution, will excite little controversy, so generally is that ascription now taken for granted. But this does not affect the authorship of the composition. We may not lightly dismiss the verdict of the centuries during which the *Perla* was bought and sold as a great Raphael for very high prices,⁷⁵ nor yet the fact that Vasari does not mention the picture in his life of Giulio, although he describes the *Gatta* in detail.⁷⁶ While we have admitted from the outset that the persistent questions of invention are not readily susceptible to direct proof, the plastic coherency of the pyramidal structure of the *Perla* as compared to the relatively diffuse organization of the *Gatta* is perhaps the only strong reason for claiming an origin for the former in the mind of Raphael. For this pyramidal grouping stands in the closest relation to a long series of Raphael Holy Families. The configuration is not only compact and centripetal, but organized on a long and characteristic spiral originating in the figure of John the Baptist and rolling upward through the heads to descend again in the arm of the Virgin. No such unequivocal spiral is found in the *Gatta*, whose figures have a tendency to seek the frame, allowing, in the process of dispersal, whole masses of dark shadow to intrude between the figures. St. Anne in the *Gatta* turns parallel to the picture plane rather than facing it, and the depth of the block of forms is reduced by revolving the cradle so that it moves laterally toward the corner of the picture, instead of jutting out toward the spectator. In addition it will be noticed that the

composition. Therefore the composition must have reached the Raphael atelier with an aged St. Anne, who could be identified visually with the Elizabeth type already known to the group. That is what has caused the confusion. But that the sibylline figure in the *Perla* and the *Gatta* is really St. Anne there can be no doubt. For in addition to the intimate relation between her and the Virgin, she is concentrating, as does Leonardo's St. Anne, on the Passion of Christ. St. John, it will be noticed, is not merely adoring the Child; he brings to Him a mass of fruit upheld in the pouch of his camel hide. In the *Gatta*, the fruit consists wholly of grapes, whose eucharistic significance is clear, and which had been used in a similar context by Botticelli in the *Chigi Madonna* (Boston, Gardner Museum; Raimond Van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, XII, fig. 24) and in Antonello's great *Annunciation* in Syracuse (Venturi, *Storia*, VII, 4, fig. 18). The infant Baptist in the *Perla*, however, presents apples, referring most probably to the character of Christ as a second Adam according to St. Paul, and His new sacrifice, through whose virtue the fruit of the Tree of Life was to be joined again to the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Cf. Gustav Ludwig, "Giovanni Bellinis sogennante Madonna am See in den Uffizien, eine religiöse Allegorie," *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, XXIII, 1902, pp. 163 ff.

75. For the circumstances of the sale of the *Perla* by the Canossa family to Vincenzo Gonzaga (who threw in a Marquisate for good measure), see Alessandro Luzio, *La galleria dei Gonzaga*, Milan, 1913, p. 91. The picture was executed for Ludovico, Count of Canossa, but there is no documentary record of its commission.

76. Vasari, *Vite*, v, p. 531.

closely knit foreground mass of the *Perla* tends to rise, fairly towering when compared to the lateral expansion of the *Gatta* groups.

Although not necessarily conclusive, these considerations suggest that Raphael may have created in the form of a sketch the composition of the *Perla*, and that the *Gatta* represents a further departure from the original composition in the direction of Mannerism. Nonetheless this line of reasoning discloses nothing regarding the relative dating of the two pictures. For this purpose a few comparisons will be necessary. The conventionally accepted date for the *Perla* is 1518-19.⁷⁷ It is difficult indeed to understand the reasons for placing the panel so close to the *Donna Velata*, the Foligno Madonna, the Czartoryski portrait, etc., with which it has so little to do, and contemporary with the Farnesina and the Francis I pictures. The very intensity of the fitful chiaroscuro with its sudden flashes of light should have been enough to show the stylistic affinity between this work and the *Transfiguration*, the quite distinct last phase of Raphael which occupied only the months immediately preceding his death. By this I do not mean to set aside the evidence of the rich shadow in the tapestry cartoons and the *Madonna of Francis I*, but to separate this broad and generalized interplay of transparency and obscurity from the sudden stabs of light and irrational shadows which the *Transfiguration* and the *Perla* have in common.

The spasmodic system of illumination corresponds to the divided forms. The breadth and rotundity apparent in the Francis I picture or in the Farnesina have disappeared; small forms and linear movements replace the large, energetic actions of the style of Raphael and his school around 1518. Everywhere monumentality gives way to elegance, natural simplicity to a sort of precious poeticism. Even such details as the headdress of the Madonna have changed; instead of the masses of hair sweeping freely back from the temple, and only occasionally (as in the Farnesina) surmounted by loose braids, we find a towering coiffure, in which complex braids not only tie the oiled hair masses closely to the skull, but are themselves entwined with ribbons and veils.

The author would therefore be inclined to place the *Perla* not only long after 1518 but probably even later than the latest figures in the *Transfiguration*, which we know was completed before May, 1522, although payments were still outstanding at that date.⁷⁸ Indeed even the Giulio figures in the *Transfiguration* display a statuesque firmness, even a columnar axiality, already renounced in the *Perla* in favor of a serpentine linearity. Likewise the clear exten-

77. Cf. Alfredo von Reumont, "La 'Sacra Famiglia' detta 'La Perla,' di Raffaello Sanzio," *Archivio della società romana di storia patria*, IV, Rome, 1881, p. 387; Venturi, *op. cit.*, IX, 2, p. 58.

78. Cf. the famous letter from Baldassare Castiglione to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII, in Carlo d'Arco, *Giulio Romano*, appendix II, p. xxxiv.



FIG. 32. Madrid, Prado: Giulio Romano, Holy Family, Called "La Perla"



FIG. 33. Naples, National Museum: Giulio Romano, Holy Family, Called "La Gatta"



FIG. 34. Detail, Raphael

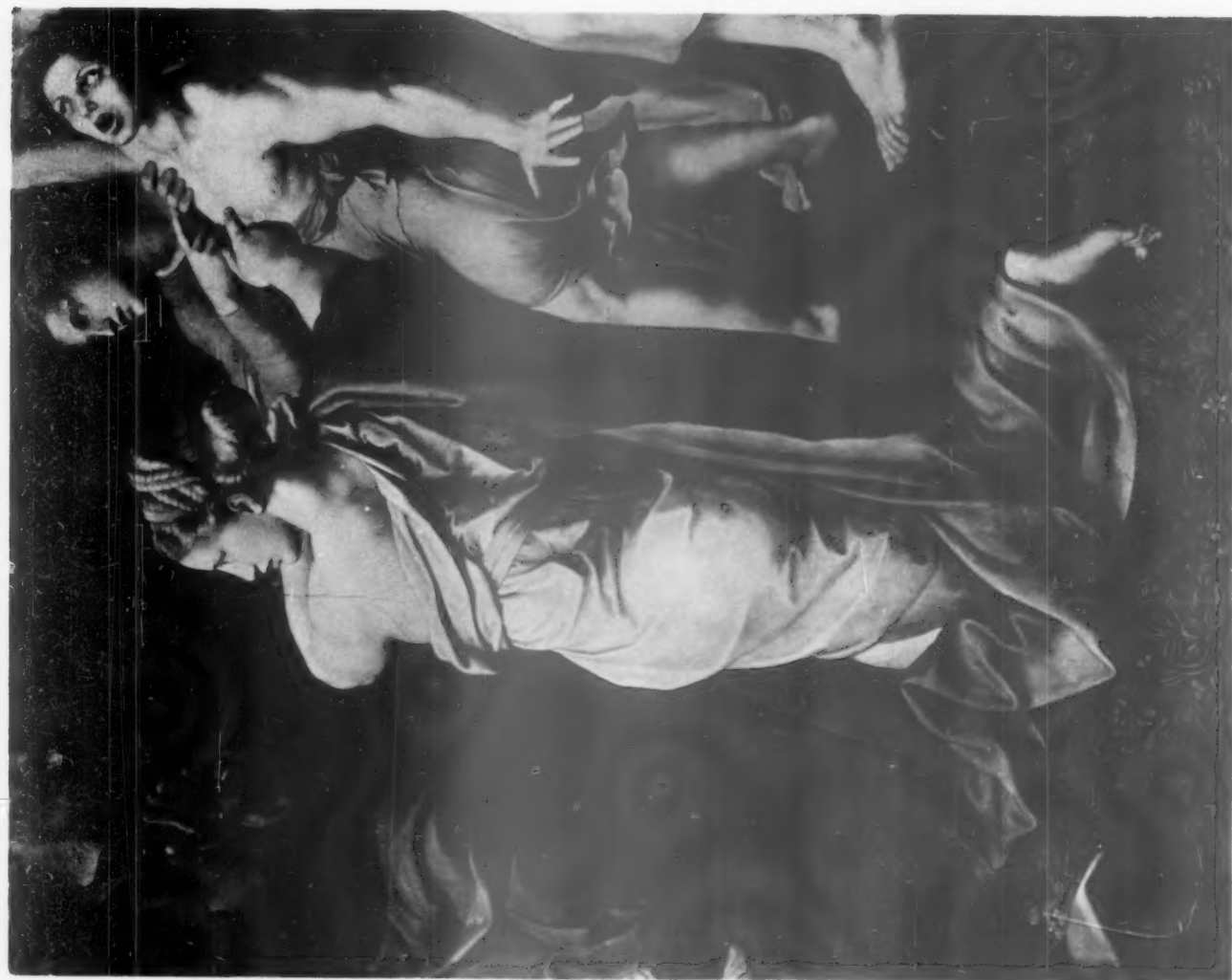


FIG. 35. Detail, Giulio Romano

FIGS. 34-35. ROME, VATICAN GALLERY: TRANSFIGURATION

sion of the ground plane is destroyed, the plane itself strongly tilted, and the background space reduced to a scenic drop, incommensurable in dimension or in character with the foreground figures. It is precisely in the Sala di Costantino that we find this relaxation of the core of the figure and this resort to linear complexity and extreme elegance of detail.⁷⁹ Nor are the resemblances between the *Donation of Rome* and the *Perla* restricted to the realm of general principles. If we compare the infant Baptist of the *Perla* to the children in the foreground of the *Donation* (Figs. 20 and 26), or the Madonna herself to the kneeling women, we can hardly fail to be struck by the closeness of the resemblance in proportion and in every detail of drawing and modelling, long hands and feet, sloping shoulders, attenuated legs, luxuriant *chevelure*, translucent veils. Finally one must note once more the practical identity between the *Madonna della Gatta* and the *Caritas* beside Pope Urban I. For these reasons then, whatever the compositional dependence of the *Perla* on a possible Raphael drawing, the most logical date for the picture itself would appear to be late in 1523, or even into 1524, thus lifting the picture altogether out of Raphael's lifetime, and placing it in the forefront of the new Mannerist movement. The *Gatta* should go very close to the *Perla*, perhaps within the same year.

The backgrounds of both pictures deserve attention. The landscape of the *Perla* with its little *borghetto* combined with Roman ruins, including a conspicuous bridge, is an old tradition in Quattrocento painting, going back of course to Jacopo Bellini, but in this case specifically to the landscapes of Raphael's Madonnas and their monumentalization in the Stanze backgrounds. So intense, however, is the lighting on the fantastic complex of Roman ruins, on the mediaeval walls and nondescript *casupole*, that we are more or less compelled to look to Sebastiano del Piombo for an explanation. Indubitably such landscapes as the deep and glowing vignette in the background of the great *Raising of Lazarus* (which was commissioned to hang with the *Transfiguration* in Narbonne, of which Giulio de' Medici was bishop, yet was finished as early as 1519)⁸⁰ had a lasting influence on Giulio's landscape conceptions at this period, just as they were later to be retransformed by contact with Dosso in North Italy.⁸¹ We find it in the *Perla* in the rich, pictorial handling of the distant woods, in the dramatic light upon the masses of stone and on the character-

istically Venetian streaky, cirrus clouds, in the soft, full foliage, so different from the feathery Umbrian trees which persist in Raphael. Nor may we neglect the exquisite linear and surface patterns of the plants in the foreground, to be enlarged in such a beautiful way in the London and Hampton Court mythological pictures, whose grouping also stems from this series.⁸² Some elements in the landscape are recognizable, for example the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli. The town walls suggest those of Viterbo, but the Roman arches above them seem a flight of fantasy; the Roman building at the left, however, in which we see the brightly lighted head and shoulders of Joseph, might be derived from one of the buildings of the Villa Adriana at Tivoli.

In the *Gatta* (Fig. 33), the same group of figures is set down in an interior, with a view through an open door to the right, in the tradition of the *Impannata*, yet bearing the same relation to the figures as does the distant landscape in the *Perla*. Moreover, the figure of Joseph is identical in both the *Gatta* and the *Perla*. The landscape or interior view, placed high in the background to function as a separate little lighted painting, is a constant feature of Giulio's panel pictures at this time. Most un-Raphaelesque, however, is such detailed delineation of domesticity: the cradle with its tumbled bedclothes, the enormous curtained bed, the doves to be presented in the temple, the candlestick, the dog, the malevolent cat after which the picture was named, and in the foreground the basket containing sewing articles and a prayerbook. All these are depicted with the same fascination for detail which characterized the *Madonna of Francis I* (indeed the rendering of the marble is almost identical in both). Deep blues and greens dominate the background of the *Perla*, and against them, as against the sooty shadows, the red and blue garments of the Madonna, and the warm flesh of the children stand out sharply. The color of the *Gatta* is somewhat clearer, with warm reds and jewel-like blues in the Madonna's garment contrasting with the purple mantle of Anne.

One of the most interesting of all Giulio's Roman panels is the tiny Madonna from the Hertz Collection (Fig. 39), now in the private chambers of the Palazzo Venezia.⁸³ Owing to the soft and pictorial surface, this picture exerts an effect far different from that of the three Holy Family groups on a grander scale. But a mere confrontation of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna with the backgrounds of any of these three would be sufficient to explain the apparent difference in technique as due to the dimensions alone. When dealing with figures of monumental size, Giulio was obligated to seek a more or less sculptural effect with a dense and finished surface, impossible in the small background

79. Particularly fascinating is the function of the Madonna's left foot in the whole composition, increasing the carven flatness of the figure group by its parallelism with the picture plane, stopping with firm precision the revolution of the contour, and tying the group securely to the foreground plane.

80. Cf. the letter from Leonardo Sellaio to Michelangelo, May 1, 1519, in Karl Frey, *Sammlung ausgewählter Briefe an Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, Berlin, 1899, CXXX, p. 143.

81. Especially in the *Triumph of Titus and Vespasian* in the Louvre, where the influence of Dosso is overpowering.

82. Cf. *National Gallery Illustrations*, London, 1936-37, *Italian Schools*, no. 624, and C. H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court Palace*, Glasgow, 1929, pp. 124 ff.

83. In fairly good condition; surface only slightly cracked.

vignettes with which the Palazzo Venezia Madonna should really be compared. For it is really a picture of a very intimate type, an icon for private devotions, and descends from the ancient Hodegetria Madonna type (which it resembles in its firm axiality), rather than from the Renaissance Holy Family. In general conception and in spatial formulation it is closely connected, however, with both the *Perla* and *Gatta*, especially the latter, from which it retains the curtained bed and the view into an adjoining chamber, on whose floor are the doves. In the construction and drawing of the Madonna's face, resemblance to the *Perla* amounts to portrait identity: the same fullness of the brow, the same angle of the nose, the precise curve of temple, cheek, and chin, even the way in which the hair waves from the central parting. It cannot be placed very far away chronologically, and must be thought of as a miniature edition of the monumental Madonnas.

But in the spatial construction the curve of the curtain creates a form which anticipates the cloth of honor, or *padiglione*, of the *Anima*, and even some of the enshadowed spaces of the Sala di Psiche ceiling, as for example in the banquet in the palace of Amor. As in the *Perla* and *Gatta* the principal pyramidal group is isolated, luminous and clear, against a tenebrous depth, through which light filters from an inner chamber. The effect is the more extraordinary because of the sparkling brilliance of the blue of the Madonna's robe. The soft blond hair and brown eyes are characteristic, and the brilliance of the color creates a certain amount of nostalgia for the original coloring of the other pictures, none of which is as fresh as this.

The author here apologizes for the brevity and incompleteness of the necessary reference to the portrait of Bindo Altoviti, formerly in Munich, and now, through the generosity of Samuel Kress, lent to the National Gallery in Washington.⁸⁴ So obscured by dirt and varnish was the picture when in the Alte Pinakothek that no conclusion as to its authorship was possible, and since its cleaning the writer has not been able to see the original, now put in a place of safety for the duration of the war. But from the recently published plate it has become fairly striking that the picture, long doubted as genuine Raphael,⁸⁵ is by the hand of Giulio Romano. It may readily be seen with what completeness the principles of Giulio's second Roman phase emerge in this painting, wherein extreme *contrapposto* is anchored to the surface by intricate linear pattern. Given the difference between panel and fresco technique, the treatment of the hair is surprisingly similar to that of the youth in the *Donation of Rome* (Fig. 9), as is the tension of the pose and the tendency toward double curvature in the drawing

of the features, the enshadowed eye, and the characteristic emphasis on the S-shape of the neck muscles, seen also in the late Madonna heads. The writer would be inclined to date the picture about 1523 by reason of stylistic similarities to the *Perla*, the *Gatta*, and the *Donation*.

No problems of attribution have ever gathered around the fantastic altarpiece of S. Stefano in Genoa (Fig. 37), the *Stoning of Stephen*,⁸⁶ which stands forth as the very embodiment of the demonic streak in Giulio's imagination, and the archetype of the fascinating horrors of the Sala dei Giganti. Professor Panofsky has suggested that the kneeling deacon martyr, menaced by the imminent crash of stones from the hands of the mob, occupies the position later filled by the hapless spectator on whom the walls threaten to collapse in the continuous cyclorama of the Sala dei Giganti. The threat plays a cardinal role in Giulio's psychology, and we shall find him exploiting that device often.

For the only time in Giulio's career we have the opportunity of studying his work not only in the finished picture but in a complete, full-size cartoon,⁸⁷ far more satisfying than the mere fragment which remains from the Sala di Costantino cartoons. This imposing creation (Fig. 36) is, in all the foreground figures at least, brought to almost full completion, and displays a style of drawing which, while it contains extremely Raphaelesque passages, is already prophetic of the style of the Palazzo del Te drawings. In some ways the great cartoon is more interesting than the finished picture, for the intense chiaroscuro of the painting justifies Vasari's criticism that Giulio's black shadows mask the beauty of the work. Furthermore, many of the heads, and many passages of drapery and anatomy in the cartoon are drawn with a *brio* and sparkle wholly missing from the partly repainted surface of the finished painting, which apparently is also not without a certain amount of collaboration. The superb head of Saul in the cartoon has an intensity wholly absent from its counterpart in the painting, and the figure moves with more abandon. The agonized, ecstatic head of Stephen, reminiscent of the demoniac boy from the *Transfiguration*, becomes elegant and null, as do the passionate angels in the upper register. And finally the two Persons of the Blessed Trinity lose much in the second repetition; the gentleness of the Son and the grandeur of the Father are hardly apparent in the final version. Never

86. Inscription on original frame; on cartouche held by two cherubs: ECCE VIDEO COELOS APERTOS; on entablature: LEONI X PM. FRATRISQ. JULII. CARD. MEDICES: BENEFICIO: TEMPLO PRAEF. Color much darkened and dirtied. The head of Stephen is much repaired; cf. Milanesi note, Vasari, *op. cit.*, p. 532, note 3.

87. In ruinous condition; two pieces, remounted on canvas. Soft, gray paper, in fragments, mutilated, with holes and scraps missing, including the distant landscape. Top appears somewhat retouched. Black chalk, heads in background especially well preserved. The writer has made a series of detail photographs.

84. *Raphael*, Phaidon ed., pl. 8.

85. Opinions of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Raphael*, II, pp. 174-176 (as Raphael); Passavant, *Raphael d'Urbino*, II, pp. 117-119 (as Raphael).



FIG. 36. Rome, Vatican Gallery: Giulio Romano, Cartoon for Stoning of St. Stephen



FIG. 37. Genoa, S. Stefano: Giulio Romano, Stoning of St. Stephen



FIG. 38. Madrid, Prado: Giulio Romano, Detail of "La Perla"



FIG. 39. Rome, Palazzo Venezia: Giulio Romano, Madonna and Child



FIG. 40. Paris, Louvre: Madonna of Francis I, Detail, Giulio Romano



FIG. 41. Paris, Louvre: Madonna of Francis I, Detail, Raphael

was more clearly proven the justice of Vasari's contention that Giulio was incapable of painting with the energy he poured into his draughtsmanship.⁸⁸

But this loss in beauty and freshness is compensated for by the striking compositional quality of the finished work. For the mantling chiaroscuro has been employed by Giulio to animate the formerly rather conventional two-register Raphaellesque composition, to infuse into it depth and movement, and replace the emphasis on individual expression with an abstract, all-over excitement of the very largest and boldest compositional masses. Whole areas have been blacked out; others so brilliantly illuminated as to approach dissolution,⁸⁹ particularly in the floating cloak of Christ. Thus the whole picture takes shape in terms of a series of striking contrasts in masses of light and dark — masses, not silhouettes, for every attempt has been exerted to increase their almost hallucinatory palpability. This is particularly true in the case of the clouds, which are permitted in the cartoon to fade off, whereas in the painting their contours are made absolutely clear, and their thick darkness exploited against the illuminated landscape with astonishing effect. Nor need we emphasize the mystery added to the group in the middle distance.

And finally there is the landscape, possibly the finest Giulio ever painted. Filled with fitful lightning, it stretches from the suggestive ruins of the middle distance up the Tiber valley to the shining crags of Soratte, a whole world of rich and brilliant fantasy. The ruins on the right repeat the reminiscences of Tivoli already encountered in the *Perla*; in the center is the crumbling and crowded Milvian Bridge, already so much a part of Giulio's visual experience from the days of his work on Monte Mario; at the left open up the ruins of a vaulted structure almost certainly based upon a Roman market basilica, with shops,

88. Vasari, *op. cit.*, v, p. 529.

89. According to Vasari (p. 532), the sky is "dipinto divinamente." In this connection it is interesting to read a letter written by Giulio to the Congregation of the Steccata in Parma, in 1542, about a similar sky in an ill-fated fresco he had designed for these literalistic people, and which, executed by Anselmi, and later altered by the same painter, still fills the apsidal vault of the church (Laudeo Testi, *Sta. Maria della Steccata in Parma*, Florence, 1922, p. 277): "As to the colors not being faithful colors, they could not be so, because I made them softened and inside the cloud, and smothered in the flame of splendor in the form of rays of the sun . . . otherwise if I had made the colors manifest it would have been a confusion of medium as for a tapestry. . . . I wanted everything, both flesh and drapery, to be the more in the flame color and the more softened and smothered the further they were; and those who were on this side of the flame, like Adam and Noah and the other patriarchs . . . could be done with manifest and finished colors. . . . Also I have heard that I am blamed for having painted God the Father Who is invisible; I answer that outside of Christ and the Madonna who are in heaven with glorious bodies, all the rest of the saints and souls and angels are invisible, and yet it is the custom to paint them, and to your lordships it should not be new that pictures are the scriptures of the crowd and the ignorant . . . etc."

mezzanine windows and all. Giulio, always fascinated by architectural problems, lays bare in the cartoon a perfect cross section of one of the shops, to display its barrel vault, but in the painting is moved to hide it again by foliage. In the cartoon he works out the rustication of the portal, but in the finished picture he creates a doorway even more advanced than that of the Palazzo Maccarani, a fantasy not to be excelled until the weird substructions for the Appartamento Estivale in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua.⁹⁰ Moreover, in the niche surmounting this ponderous creation, he has placed a delicate statue, with an eye for contrast typical of his sensibility. In this interior, light plays from the clerestory and from the shattered vault. Effective also are the strange, half-living statues placed here and there on the broken parapet or appearing in the foliage, a Minerva at the left, for example, and a herm at the right. In the interests of greater unity, the Palladio motive, separated in the drawing, is fused with the rest of the structure and the foliage is expanded so as almost to hide the little arbor below.

A characteristic aspect of the picture is the consistent parallelism which we have seen so often in Giulio's work. It is evident here, for example, in the parallel legs of the two executioners at the right, or in the amusing way in which in the figure of Saul, *pentimenti* in the cartoon have been preserved in the form of drapery lines in the picture. This beautiful figure of Saul is close in pose and drawing to the Child in the *Perla*, so much so as to make it highly probable that the two are the same figure in Giulio's plastic imagination. But there is also a curious resemblance between the Stephen of the finished picture and the portrait of Pope Sylvester in the Sala di Costantino.

The problem of the precise date of the picture is not clear. According to Vasari, the picture was ordered by Giovanmatteo Giberti,⁹¹ bishop of Verona and *datario* of Pope Clement, and is treated by Vasari together with works dating from Clement's pontificate, that is, after 1523. Yet the ambiguous inscription might well induce the supposition that the picture was completed in 1522. Whatever may be the interpretation of the inscription, it is difficult to believe that the picture was painted long after the *Anima* and the *Perla*, and the frescoes of the Sala di Costantino. It is highly possible that simultaneous engagement in the execution of so many panel pictures may explain the relatively small part taken by Giulio in the actual brushwork of the Sala di Costantino.

In all probability among the last pictures painted by Giulio before he left Rome forever we must class the great

90. Cf. Clinio Cotta-favi, *Ricerche e documenti sulla costruzione del palazzo ducale in Mantova*, Mantua, 1939, pls. IV, VII-IX.

91. *Vite*, v, p. 532. Giberti is the same who later ordered from Giulio the cartoons for the fresco decorations in the apse of the Duomo at Verona, executed according to Giulio's designs by Francesco Torbido.

Madonna (Fig. 30) on the altar of S. Maria dell' Anima,⁹² for it is certainly the most advanced of all in the direction of Mannerism, and the closest to the work in the Palazzo del Te. Giulio has placed the Madonna on a sort of improvised throne of stone blocks, in a ruined Roman building. Two *putti* float above, upholding the cloth of honor, while a third is about to crown the Virgin with a garland of flowers. St. Joseph adores from the shadow on the right, and on the left the infant Precursor presents the kneeling St. James, in pilgrim garb, before the throne.⁹³ In front kneels the evangelist Mark carrying his arrow⁹⁴ and accompanied by his wonderful winged lion which made such an impression on Vasari.⁹⁵ In the composition as a whole the process of dispersal has struck an accelerated pace. Despite those iconographic elements which might conceivably have dictated a centralized arrangement, the figures are all so aligned that they collectively construct first a hollow square and then a fabric of interweaving forms, diagonally from side to side. This marks the most advanced stage of the process of acentral organization in a foreground plane, a process which we have traced from Giulio's earliest works some nine or ten years previous. So strong is this process, in fact, that it results in the forward displacement of the Roman building in the background, which is represented as continuous with the cloth of honor and the *putti*, of whose curvilinear structure it is a logical fulfillment. Thus disappears from Giulio's art the last traces of Renaissance systematized diminution. The cloth, the vaulting, the outer figures and the lion are all straight at their outer edges and nearly continuous with the frame.

The weave of forms shuttling from side to side is indeed intricate, made up of numerous angles and curves. Its tension is increased by the attenuation of the members of the figures, by the restless activity of the folds, and by the excited chiaroscuro, more intense than ever,⁹⁶ murky shad-

ows which throw the lights forward with an electrical scintillation. The background architecture can hardly be a theater as Vasari seems to believe; with its coffered barrel vault, its Tuscan pilasters enclosing niches on one side and on the other open arches looking into a garden, it reminds one rather of palace or villa architecture. Pierced as it is by accidental apertures, this architecture produces the type of spasmodic illumination which Giulio desires. The very light which partially reveals the groups of figures comes from the extreme upper right, and apparently from some hole in the vaulting similar to that discernible just above the door, thus foreshadowing the "cellar light" of Caravaggio and the *tenebrosi*. It is characteristic of Mannerism, however, that the chiaroscuro serves not to dissolve but if anything to crystallize the density of the solids, in contradistinction to the fluid shadows of Venetian painting.

Most of this entrancing picture is executed with a degree of elegance and precision which indicates the hand of Giulio, even in the brilliantly painted background, which looks like a picture hanging on the wall, but the cherubim above are obviously below this level in quality. Their snarling features recall the hand already identified in the Sala di Costantino as that of Benedetto Pagni da Pescia, the assistant whom Giulio carried to Mantua.

A last interesting picture from Giulio's Roman years is the so-called *Fornarina*,⁹⁷ formerly in the Hermitage in Leningrad, since removed to the Museum in Moscow. In 1937 the picture was cleaned, and all the heavy drapery came away, leaving the figure entirely nude, save for the filmy material which covers her from breast to thigh. But little remains of the original surface of the flesh, after the heavy damage and the heavy repaint. Nonetheless, the sensitive elegance of the fantasy, the mannered pose, the complex profile and the little view into imposing Raphaellesque architecture, all betray the personality of Giulio, however much his hand may be clouded in the details. The general disposition of the body with its crossed legs is very similar to that of the *Madonna dell' Anima*, and recalls a pose in the *Donation*, which reappears constantly in Giulio's drawings and paintings. Furthermore, the diagonal relation of the figure to the courtyard vignette, already apparent in Raphael's *Impannata*, is, as here displayed, characteristic of Giulio, reminding us instantly of the diagonal vistas in the *Perla*, the *Gatta*, and the *Anima*, and later in the portrait of

Giulio to be quite as dark as it has become. Vasari uses the phrase "divenuta scurissima." Charcoal, burnt ivory or paper and lamp-black are adduced as possible sources.

97. Venturi, *Storia*, II, fig. 293. The subject matter of the picture is somewhat puzzling. The nude woman is in the act of removing the last transparent veil which shields her, and it is appropriate that the statue which appears in a niche in the courtyard should be of the *Venus Pudica* type. But the significance of the maidservant, the potted plant, and the monkey is not clear.

92. Fair condition; covered with candle smoke and here and there badly cracked. Surface otherwise fairly well preserved, with no signs of repainting. Colors of the usual metallic sharpness, even more pronounced than in previous pictures.

93. The hagiography is doubtless explicable in terms of the commission from Jakob Fugger, whose patron saint was James, and whose trade with Venice might have prompted him to include St. Mark. The hen and chickens visible in the background, together with the very ruin itself, seem to echo the fateful lines from Matthew (xxiii, 34), "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto Thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under wings, and ye would not! Behold your house is left unto you desolate, for I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." In the ring of these phrases we may understand the prominence given to the leading of St. James before the throne by John the Precursor, who first uttered the *Benedictus qui venit*.

94. Dollmayr identified him as Jerome!

95. *Op. cit.*, p. 533.

96. It is of course possible that this black was not intended by



FIG. 42. Vienna, Albertina: Giulio Romano, Horses of the Dioscuri, Drawing



FIG. 43. Giulio Romano, Drawing for the Transfiguration (Location Unknown)



FIG. 44. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire Collection: Raphael, Drawing for Transfiguration



FIG. 45. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire Collection: Raphael, Drawing for Transfiguration



Isabella d'Este in Hampton Court.⁹⁸ Also similar to these pictures is the soft illumination from the side, which has so magical an effect on the architecture. Giulio worked out this same effect in a three-dimensional fashion in the entrance to the Palazzo del Te, where the columns receive a similar side light, reflected from the pavement.

As a last testimony to the brilliant Roman style of the young Giulio it is worth while to illustrate one of the best sheets remaining from this period, a little known drawing in the Albertina (Fig. 42) of portions of one of the horses of the Dioscuri on the Quirinal. Quintessentially Roman in its hardness and determination, the drawing displays Giulio's unusual sense of pattern and form and his highest level of technical excellence.

We have thus been able to follow the development of the proto-Baroque late phase of Raphael, and to see in detail how Giulio, his most talented and imaginative pupil, employed the motives and figure style of the late Raphael for purposes profoundly opposed to those of the High Renaissance. We have observed the virtuoso pupil creating a new style, full of inner tension and surface intricacy within

the school of the harmonious Raphael and before Raphael's death. We have seen this new style replace Raphael's free, spiral movement in space with inhibited angular movements in one plane, and have considered this new style as symptomatic of the anti-classic phase of Italian Cinquecento painting, and thus related fundamentally to the more outspoken Mannerists of Florence, Siena, and Parma. We have followed the expansion of the new anti-classical yet basically Roman style in a second, more elegant yet more fully authoritative phase in the years directly following Raphael's death, a phase that was to be of great influence, not only on the rhetorical late Cinquecento style of Vasari and Salviati, but also on the historical paintings of Rubens. Four of the minor assistants of Raphael have taken shape for us, and we have been able to arrive at fairly definite conclusions regarding the separation of the school pieces amongst the various hands. How Giulio took his Roman style to Mantua and there fused it with indigenous North Italian illusionist trends to create his mature phase, destined to form the basis for so much of the art of the seventeenth century, will form the basis for a future study.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON PICTURES BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE RAPHAEL WORKSHOP

Since Dollmayr the *Visitation* in the Prado (Rosenberg, *Raffaello*, p. 165) has generally been considered as a work of Penni's. This cannot be correct. The burly, hulking forms, shapeless and awkward, with their long horizontal shadows, are strikingly similar to the figures in the *Vision of Constantine*, by Hand C, the possible Raffaellino dal Colle. The landscape organization is the same, with a weak middle distance and a rich, wooded range on the horizon. The facial types are astonishingly similar. There can be small doubt.

With this picture goes the *Madonna of the Oak* in the Prado (*ibid.*, p. 161). A comparison discloses identity in the treatment, pose, and handling of the head of Mary in both pictures, down to the position of the shadows and reflected lights, and the drawing of eyelids and eyebrows. The shapeless knees, high waists, and lumpy breasts are characteristic, but perhaps the most distressing mannerism is the fold of drapery over the navel. Both pictures, particularly the highly influential *Madonna of the Oak*, are of too grand a quality of invention to have been put together entirely by Hand C, but may depend on some sort of sketches by Raphael who, as we know, delivered the *Visitation* to the order of Giambattista Brancaccio d'Aquila. The Uffizi version of the *Madonna of the Oak*, known as the *Madonna della Lucertola*, is nothing more than a dry copy of the former picture, by another hand. It is characteristic of the state of contemporary knowledge of the Raphael school that the *Madonna of the Oak* should still bear the label of Raphael and the *Lucertola* that of Giulio.

That tasteless picture, too long called the *Fornarina* (*ibid.*, p. 121), formerly in the Barberini Gallery and now in the Borghese, can now be taken off the shoulders of the guiltless Raphael and his two heirs. It is certainly by the same hand as the two foregoing pictures. One has only to compare the treatment of the belly, with

the same fold of drapery over the navel, to realize this. The breasts have the same pulpy quality visible in the *Madonna of the Oak*; the mouth and chin are identical; the overlaid headdress ruins the poise of the head in the same way; the drapery folds have the same dull parallelism, especially as they go round an arm, for example. The arm and hand are long, boneless and rubbery as in the *Visitation*. Need one insist further?

These three pictures provide really our best material for the identification of Hand C with Raffaellino dal Colle. One has but to compare them with, for example, the *Annunciation* in Città di Castello (Venturi, *Storia*, IX, 5, fig. 342), where the Virgin has the same high-waisted proportions, the same baggy knees, the same nerveless hands as the *Virgin of the Oak*. In proportion, drawing, and lighting it is the same face. Only the background has now changed, becoming Florentine, but the drapery has not altered, including the characteristic fold over the navel. In the *Assumption* (*ibid.*, fig. 343) the parallelism of folds has become deadly. The face of the bald apostle to the left of the tomb is very close to the head of Joseph in the *Madonna of the Oak*. The resemblance of the other heads to the figures in the *Vision of Constantine* (not to speak of the landscape) has already been pointed out.

The *Madonna of the Flowers* in the Hermitage (Venturi, *op. cit.*, IX, 2, fig. 290), always attributed to Giulio, is certainly by Raffaellino. The resemblance to the Virgin of the Città di Castello *Annunciation* amounts to portrait identity. The coarse and brutal style is characteristic of Raffaellino and the picture in its combination of Raphaelian motives is to be considered together with the preceding three. Incidentally, the coloring is not without a certain delicacy.

The *Coronation of the Virgin*, for the nuns of Monteluce, was contracted for in 1505 (Venturi, IX, 2, p. 10), and again in 1516 (*ibid.*, p. 31). A split occurs in the picture itself, not only stylistically but in the actual wood, and since the first contract calls for an *Assumption* and the second a *Coronation*, it has been assumed

98. Baker, *Catalogue of Pictures at Hampton Court Palace*, pl. XXIV (here attributed to Parmigianino).

that the change in iconography accounts for the break, e.g., the removal of the upper portion. Vasari tells us the work is by separate hands as well, the lower half by Penni, the upper by Giulio. Dollmayr, however, recognized that their difference is in chronology, not attribution, and that the whole picture is by Penni. The bottom part represents a style influenced by the Segnatura; the top is already quite late, and is formed by the *Transfiguration*. In both we find the same blond colors, the soft, broad drapery movement, the incurable mildness. Detail photographs of the Virgin and Christ (Figs. 11 and 12) reveal the characteristic plump Penni forms, the sloping necklines, the pinched sterno-cleido-mastoid muscles, the sloping forehead. The Christ head is obviously by the same hand that executed (after Raphael's drawing) the Christ head in the *Transfiguration*. The most plausible explanation is that the nuns were dissatisfied with the original iconography, and that the original upper portion, which must have been domical like the *Disputa*, was replaced by the present one. The only drawing, a red chalk affair in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, is certainly by Penni. Raphael can have had little to do with this picture.

Although the *Deësis* in Parma (Rosenberg, *Raffaël*, p. 209) is conceived in the exalted mood of Raphael's last style, and depends upon the same Raphael design Marcantonio used for his engraving of the subject, the picture is recognizably by Penni's hand. In construction, drawing, and modelling, the torso of the risen Christ is startlingly similar to that of the flying Mercury in the Farnesina; in both we have the same chunky proportions and plump, precise musculature. The face and attitude of the Virgin, neckline and all,

repeat very closely the Virgin of Monteluce; both the Virgin and Christ show the same characteristic pinching of the neck muscles. The St. John recalls faces in the lower section of the Monteluce picture, and the St. Catherine is like the Psyche and Venus from the Farnesina. Penni's landscape is not without charm and delicacy. The cartoon fragment for the head of the Virgin, in the Uffizi, is certainly by Penni, but might as well have been used for the Monteluce picture, a characteristic Penni stereotype.

In spite of the long-standing Vasari attribution to Giulio (*Vite*, v, p. 532), the *Flagellation* in Santa Prassede is certainly a work of Penni. Nowhere do we find either the violence or the elegance of Giulio. The work is pretty, petulant, and chill. Only compare it with the *Stoning of Stephen* to see how Giulio would have handled such a subject! The musculature, of course, is typical; the back of the executioner ought to be compared with the Apollo from the *Nuptials of Cupid and Psyche* in the Farnesina, to see the same rubbery contours and plump muscles, Penni's unfailing signature. The pinched neck muscles are everywhere in evidence, and the limp and slippery blond locks of the Christ are close to those of St. John in the Monteluce picture. The mask of the right-hand executioner is literally the same as that of the heavily bearded apostle on the lower right foreground in the same panel, undoubtedly taken from the same drawing. The large scale of the figures and the simplicity of the scheme recommend a dating around the period of the Francis I pictures, and there is certainly nothing to forbid the conclusion that Penni painted the picture without designs or suggestions from either Raphael or Giulio Romano.

ASIATIC EXOTICISM IN ITALIAN ART OF THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

LEONARDO OLSCHKI

I

THE oriental influence on Italian art of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance has been frequently discussed during the last decades. It is undeniable that some artists of those times were inspired by ornament and iconography of a more or less definitely oriental origin. There is sufficient evidence of contacts between the East and the West in Italian paintings, both religious and secular.

However numerous examples of this orientalism may appear to be, they are not always genuine. Therefore, the problem will always constitute a border-line case in the history of the Italian art of the Renaissance. This circumstance must be emphasized at the very outset of every investigation directed toward the explanation of this puzzling and striking aspect of a general and deep artistic renewal. Only a prudent examination of facts and problems can prevent the misleading conclusions of those scholars who have attributed to oriental models and motifs a revolutionary virtue and a decisive influence on the artistic feeling, technique, and imagination of some leading masters of this great creative epoch.¹

In discussing these border-line cases in art and literature there is always danger of considering them from a limited point of view which alters their true proportions. Precisely that fault has led to an overstatement of the oriental influence on the Tuscan painters of the early Renaissance. Yet it would be a mistake to deny this influence or to minimize the interest of the problem. To what extent this artistic orientalism is real or imaginary can be established only after carefully examining its different and characteristic aspects, not by relying on fanciful hypotheses or hasty conclusions

concerning the intellectual exchanges or commercial intercourse between the East and the West.

There can be no satisfactory results in this vast field of research so long as the idea of the Orient includes all the peoples and civilizations from the Nile to the China Sea and from the Bosphorus to the Gulf of Bengal. The visit of the Greek Emperor and his court to Florence during the Council of 1439 or the participation of Russian prelates and "Ethiopian" envoys in this great ecclesiastical event cannot explain to a critical mind the appearance of some unmistakably Mongolian types in the Italian painting of the Renaissance. The products of oriental craftsmanship which were imported into Italy and imitated there during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance will never explain the realism with which contemporary painters represented exotic countenances, traits, and attitudes. There is an essential difference between these products of the minor arts which can be indefinitely reproduced, copied, varied, and commercialized and the individual artistic creation of an outstanding pictorial genius. Thus the strange and picturesque varieties of human races, including Moors, Negroes, Arabs, Turks, and Tartars, to be found in frescos, paintings, drawings, and sketches of different hands and schools, do not belong to those currents of taste and style which determined at an earlier epoch the vogue of oriental silk garments, Persian textiles, Byzantine mosaics, Sasanid sculptures, and architectural details of Syrian and Egyptian origin.²

The main concern in the investigation of this widespread orientalism is thus to distinguish carefully between the independent fields of ornament and decoration on the one hand, and the pictorial arts on the other. The vague conformity of some stylistic aspects of early Sienese paintings to Chinese art of the Yüan epoch (1279-1368) and the few scattered Asiatic types occasionally represented by

1. Especially Gustave Soulier, *Les influences orientales dans la peinture toscane*, Paris, 1924, and I. V. Pouzyna, *La Chine, l'Italie et les débuts de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1935. Both these books as well as the unimportant articles of J. Plenge, "Die China-Rezeption des Trecento . . .," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Berlin, 1929, pp. 294-295, and A. Renaudet, "Les influences orientales dans la Divine Comédie . . .," *Revue de synthèse historique*, 1925, Nos. 118-120, leave much to be desired in criticism and reliable information.

2. For this aspect of the problem and reference to bibliography cf. W. F. Volbach, "Oriental Influence in the Animal Sculpture of Campania," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIV, 1942, pp. 172-180; for examples of orientalism in the Paduan school, cf. R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923-38, V, pp. 132 ff.

Italian painters cannot be compared to the primordial and uninterrupted flow of cultural and artistic ideas from the Near East into the Mediterranean sphere. In that instance a very old cultural commonwealth linked together the productive centers of a domain extending from Bagdad to Córdoba and corresponding roughly to the ancient world. Some models of Far Eastern craftsmanship may have slipped through indirectly, through Persian and Arabian mediation, and met with success in Italian workshops and studios from Venice to Palermo.

The epoch of the consolidation of the Mongolian Empire, between 1250 and 1368, was especially favorable to the distribution of East Asiatic products along the intercontinental trade routes connecting China with the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. This episode in the history of civilization and commerce has been so frequently and masterfully described that it is not necessary to insist upon it here.³ There is no doubt that the discovery of Central and Eastern Asia by the Franciscan missionaries and Marco Polo's description of the whole continent brought the Far East into fashion and struck the imagination of European potentates and common people alike.⁴ It stimulated, too, the spirit of enterprise in tradesmen and artisans. To some extent even creative artists were affected by this interest in the newly discovered continent, but their reaction was isolated, and determined by individual artistic intentions rather than by a curiosity for exotic aspects of life and nature. This fact is confirmed by the development of the contemporary literature inspired by travel.

Both fantastic and realistic ideas about the newly explored East followed the trends and styles of the first travel accounts. The two oldest descriptions of Inner Asia by the Franciscan missionaries, the *Historia Mongalorum* of John of Pian del Càrpine (1247) and William of Rubruck's *Itinerarium* (1255), are straightforward reports of facts and impressions with little margin left for picturesque imagery.⁵ Marco Polo's book (1298) keeps the balance between the fanciful pictures of a story teller and the positive interests of a business man. Curiously enough, fantastic descriptions of the Asiatic countries and peoples spread, as European travellers became better acquainted with the whole continent. The extensive description of the Far East written in 1330 by Odoric of Pordenone after a three years' stay in Peking, already shows a marked inclination toward

tales of wonders and absurdities.⁶ The fabulous element becomes preponderant in Jordan de Sévérac's *Mirabilia* (1329[?])⁷ and it is the chief characteristic of Mandeville's famous forgery (1371) which kept alive for centuries the distorted popular image of the Far East, earlier created by credulity, ignorance, and intentional mystification.⁸

The most popular volume of fictional geography was written in Florence about 1400 by Andrea da Barberino and reprinted in innumerable editions under the title of *Guerin Meschino*.⁹ In the form and style of a romance of chivalry the book contains a fantastic and confused description of the countries and wonders of Tartary, India, and other regions of Asia and Africa which was echoed in similar narratives inserted into Italian chronicles of the Quattrocento and inspired the most successful popular poems devoted to the marvels of the East.¹⁰ Even after the fall of the Mongolian Empire in 1368 and the extension of the trading monopoly of the Arabs on all the sea routes to India and beyond, no direct contact, no authentic information could correct those fanciful ideas of the Orient. The Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* (1408) and the consequent version in Italian verse by Berlinghieri (1482) did not affect the traditional conceptions which had influenced the most learned of Florentine cosmographers, Paolo Toscanelli, in shaping the image of the earth accepted by Christopher Columbus.

The inspiration of the contemporary Florentine artists appears to be as independent of these learned works of geography as it had already been of the accounts of missionaries and merchants. Contrary, then, to general belief, the evolution of mediaeval travel literature from reliable reports to wonder tales shows that the descriptions of Asiatic peoples and countries are of little use in explaining the striking exoticism in the contemporary art. A typical example will illustrate the independent attitude of the Renaissance artist. Leonardo da Vinci drew from life the portraits of three of those Armenians who were a common sight in the Venice of his time, just as they are in our own (Fig. 1). These expressive oriental types are delineated with the exactness and penetrating realism characteristic of Leonardo's anatomical and scientific sketches. But in describing their country and "the mountains over the Caspian Sea" he invents a sequence of fantastic letters directed to a mysterious "Devadtâr of Syria" and follows the vague

3. There is a short bibliography on these intercontinental commercial relations in the author's little book on *Marco Polo's Precursors*, Baltimore, 1943, p. 3, note 5. The best Chinese source is the book of *Chau Ju-Kua*, translated and annotated by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg, 1912.

4. Cf. the author's article on "Dante e l'Oriente," *Giornale Dantesco*, XXXIX (N.S. IX), 1938, pp. 65-90.

5. Last and best edition of these reports in *Sinica Franciscana: Itinera et Relationes* . . . , ed. P. A. van den Wyngaert (2 vols.), Quaracchi, 1929-1938.

6. Text in *Sinica Franciscana*, I, pp. 412-495.

7. Edited by H. Cordier, Paris, 1926.

8. On Mandeville cf. Ch. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, London, 1897-1906, III, pp. 319-322.

9. No satisfactory monograph has been published about this extremely successful book, printed as early as 1473 as a fictional "description of the provinces of the whole earth and the variety of men, peoples and their customs." Cf. R. Peters, *Ueber die Geographie im 'Guerino Meschino'*, Halle, 1908.

10. Cf. the author's essay on "I cantàri dell'India di Giuliano Dati," *La bibliofilia*, XL, 1938, pp. 289-316.

exotic geography of poetry and romance.¹¹ Leonardo's biographers who have taken those sketches and those elaborate letters as evidence of his travels in the East know little about an artist's whims, and even less about contemporary geographic conceptions.¹² While Leonardo's portraits of those familiar oriental men are strikingly realistic, the literary fragments devoted to geographic aspects of the Near East are shadowy, confused, and incorrect. Both these expressions of his tense and inquisitive mind reveal the casual and fleeting character of his pictorial and literary orientalism.

II

The foregoing remarks prove that the question of Asiatic exoticism in the art of the Renaissance cannot be solved merely by collecting and connecting facts and documents. Although a secondary aspect of art and a marginal problem of history, that exoticism touches the very essence, spirit, and inspiration of the arts of the Renaissance. The instance of Leonardo is typical and instructive. His account of the Taurus and Caucasus is nebulous, fantastic, and interspersed with lyrical accents and mysterious suggestions. Some graphic details about the natural aspects and the climate of that distant region lend body to the literary incarnation of a vision which rose from nostalgic longing for unusual, exotic scenery. There is no reason for interpreting the vague geographic reminiscences in such passages as evidence of da Vinci's actual knowledge of the lands described.

In the same way the painters who inserted exotic elements into their representations of a sacred event or a profane scene were merely achieving a pictorial realization of an artistic vision. The realistic quality of those unusual details increased the illusionistic power of the whole composition. Such biblical subjects as the Adoration of the Magi offered opportunity for the display of elaborate pageantry impressively interspersed with realistic elements of more or less genuine oriental origin. This is one of many practices of Italian, and especially Florentine, Renaissance painters which reveal their design to create conviction by inserting into an imaginary scene types and objects known from experience.

Conversely, the intention is also evident of detaching the representation of a religious scene from its familiar or

traditional environment or from objective reality by including some unusual object of an exotic character real or pretended. This spiritual exoticism has been recognized as a characteristic trait of early Sienese painting. The early painters of Siena are believed to have been the first to use this unobtrusive but effective artifice which gave their images and compositions a supernatural, immaterial quality. Both tendencies of this artistic exoticism — the illusionistic and the unrealistic — presuppose direct observation of unusual objects, but no conclusive argument ever confirmed the assumption that the initiators of the new style of painting we call primitive or early Renaissance — initiators like Giotto in Florence and Duccio in Siena — abandoned the old Byzantine tradition in order to imitate Chinese models. Critics and historians who have held that opinion are not always aware of the essential difference between a creative and an imitative art. Without venturing into the labyrinths of aesthetic discussion it may be taken for granted that the aforementioned painters and their contemporary admirers would never have been able to understand or to accept those oriental models if they had not been prepared by experience to appreciate the exotic and the unfamiliar. Considerations of this kind will prevent false conclusions drawn from superficial and merely formal coincidences, as well as from casual details.

The affinities between Sienese and Chinese art, first discovered by Bernhard Berenson, are essentially of the kind already suggested.¹³ The great connoisseur of Tuscan painting of the Renaissance did not, however, insist on the comparison and thereby proved to be as wise as he was learned. To a scholar familiar with the culture and history of that period it is inconceivable, for example, that an early Italian Renaissance image of the Virgin Mother surrounded by a wreath of angels could be the imitation of a statue of Buddha or the feminine hypostasis of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara frequently represented since the twelfth century in Eastern Asiatic art under the Chinese name of Kuan-yin.¹⁴ The use by Italian craftsmen and artists of some ornamental or decorative patterns of Far Eastern origin can, and must, be admitted without hesitation,¹⁵ but it is impossible to believe that a pagan idol could have inspired a painter moved by the deep sense of Christian worship which is expressed in works of this epoch and kind. The possibility that an oriental painting could have reached Dante's Florence or Siena in the time of St. Catherine, is limited by the indisputable fact that no missionary or merchant would have carried home an object of pagan devotion or even

11. The whole passage is in J. P. Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, 2d ed., London, 1939, II, pp. 317-323. On Leonardo's sources cf. Mr. Freshfield's remarks in the *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society*, 1884, pp. 323-324. In describing the Taurus Mountains in Asia Minor, Leonardo affirms "that mountain is said to be the ridge of Mount Caucasus," a name used in mediaeval geography also for the designation of the Hindu-Kush and the Himalaya. Cf. G. Boffito, "Gli Armeni a Firenze," *La bibliofilia*, 1937, fasc. 7-8.

12. A critical investigation of Leonardo's geographical notes is still lacking.

13. B. Berenson, "A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend," *Burlington Magazine*, III, 1903, pp. 3-35 and 171-184, especially pp. 8-13.

14. Cf. Melanie Stiassny, "Einiges zur Buddhistischen Madonna," *Jahrbuch für asiatische Kunst*, I, 1924, pp. 112 ff.

15. Cf. O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1921.

have wanted to do so. When John of Pian del Càrpine, or William of Rubruck, Marco Polo, or the travellers of the fourteenth century speak about oriental religions they show little understanding of their spiritual and moral content and much horror and revulsion from their practices and forms of worship.¹⁶ This aversion is especially intense when the rites of the "idolaters" show some affinity with those of the Christians. William of Rubruck, it is true, compared a winged statue of Buddha, which he saw in a Lamaist temple at Karakorum, to an image of St. Michael, and observed that other statues hold the fingers in a blessing attitude like Catholic bishops,¹⁷ but he contemptuously designated as "stultitias eorum" all aspects of those oriental religions,¹⁸ and John of Pian del Càrpine believed that the devil spoke through the mouths of their idols.¹⁹

It would be an error to suppose that Marco Polo, as a layman and a Tartar functionary, would have been more tolerant toward East Asiatic religious ideas and institutions. He speaks with respect of Buddha, but in treating the idols of the Buddhist temples of China, of lamaseries and places of public worship, he uses even stronger and harsher expressions of reproof and hatred than the missionary friars. Finally he even renounces detailed discussion of this "devil's work . . . because it would be too evil and abominable a thing to tell such things for Christians to hear."²⁰ This consistently hostile attitude prevented any serious interest of the Western world in oriental works of art of a religious character. There is no possibility whatever that any of them were imported and admired even at the time when intercontinental trade was at its height. No direct influence on Italian art through such a channel can be seriously assumed. When a Sienese Madonna of the fourteenth century shows hands and fingers unusually long and diaphanous it is preferable to consider this detail as a characteristic aspect of a spiritualizing Gothic style of painting, intended to give the human body a weightless, incorporeal, unworldly air. It is a mere illusion to discover in the religious art of the Trecento structural and ideological reflections of Buddhist art of China, and it is an historical heresy to say that Sassetta's famous *Apotheosis of St. Francis* "comes as near the Buddhist ideal as the art of Siena ever reached."²¹ Interpretations of this kind are merely documents of the fallacy of vision caused by the eclectic artistic culture characteristic of

our time. Nothing is gained in the correct appreciation of artistic achievements and stylistic peculiarities by comparisons which neglect essential differences of spiritual background and the decisive influence of deeply rooted feelings and opinions. The only thing that can be said is that there are some transcendental affinities between different artistic expressions of ecstatic religious feeling, even when mutual influences must be excluded for intrinsic and historical reasons. But even in this field the differences between the East and the West are irreconcilable.

III

The situation is altogether different in the secular sphere of life and in the realistic aspects of art. Considered from this angle, Asiatic exoticism shrinks to a few examples which reveal a definite familiarity on the part of contemporary Italian society with characteristic traits and habits of the Inner-Asiatic peoples. The principal marks of this direct experience of men and manners of the Far East are found in physiognomies of a definitely ethnographical character and in costumes and fashions of unmistakable oriental origin. In both cases a careful distinction must be made between the actual reproduction of genuine Asiatic types and the fanciful representations of a conventional and decorative style. Those dignified old men, who appear in many Italian paintings from Giotto to Paolo Veronese, dressed in flowing gowns, wearing long, wavy, curly beards and colorful turbans on their heads are imaginary types. The miniaturist who illustrated the beautiful manuscript of Boccaccio's *Filocolo* in Cassel (Fig. 2),²² or the French "enlumineurs" of the stories of Alexander the Great, developed this fantastic exoticism into a pleasant mummary of the most varied kinds.²³ Their scrolls and fanciful dress form a sharp contrast to the objective reproduction of genuine details and the authentic portraits which occur in contemporary compositions of a higher artistic level.

The most common ethnic mark found in these works of Tuscan art are the slit eyes which appear at almost the same time in the faces painted by Giotto and Duccio. Their Christs, Virgins, and Saints with slit eyes are not identical with Byzantine types and it would be blasphemous to admit a direct imitation of Chinese models, whether sacred or profane. However tortuous the path of the arts may be, it is not easy to understand why those vigorously creative artists should have picked up this single trait of oriental models, while they were striving otherwise to bring the representation of the human body as close as possible to natural reality and at the same time to ideal spiritual perfection. Rather

16. On the attitude of mediaeval travellers toward oriental religions cf. the author's *Letteraria delle scoperte geografiche*, Florence, 1937, pp. 165-193.

17. *Sinica Franciscana*, I, pp. 227-228.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

20. *Description of the World*, ed. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, London, 1938, I, p. 161. Odoric of Pordenone used a similar expression on the same subject about thirty years later. Cf. *Sinica Franciscana*, I, p. 441.

21. G. H. Edgell, *A History of Sienese Painting*, New York, 1932, p. 193.

22. Of this interesting manuscript there is only a very insufficient description by W. Hopf, *Die Landesbibliothek Kassel*, Marburg, 1930, II, pp. 110-116.

23. Cf. the author's book on *Manuscripts français à peintures des bibliothèques d'Allemagne*, Geneva, 1932, pp. 30, 37, 53, etc.



FIG. 1. Turin, Royal Library: Drawing by Leonardo da Vinci, Heads of Orientals



FIG. 2. Cassel, Landesbibl.: 2° Ms. poet. 3, Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, Fol. 148r.



FIG. 3. Padua, Arena Chapel: Giotto, Scourging of Christ, Detail



FIG. 4. Paris, Louvre: Drawing by Pisanello, Asiatic Type

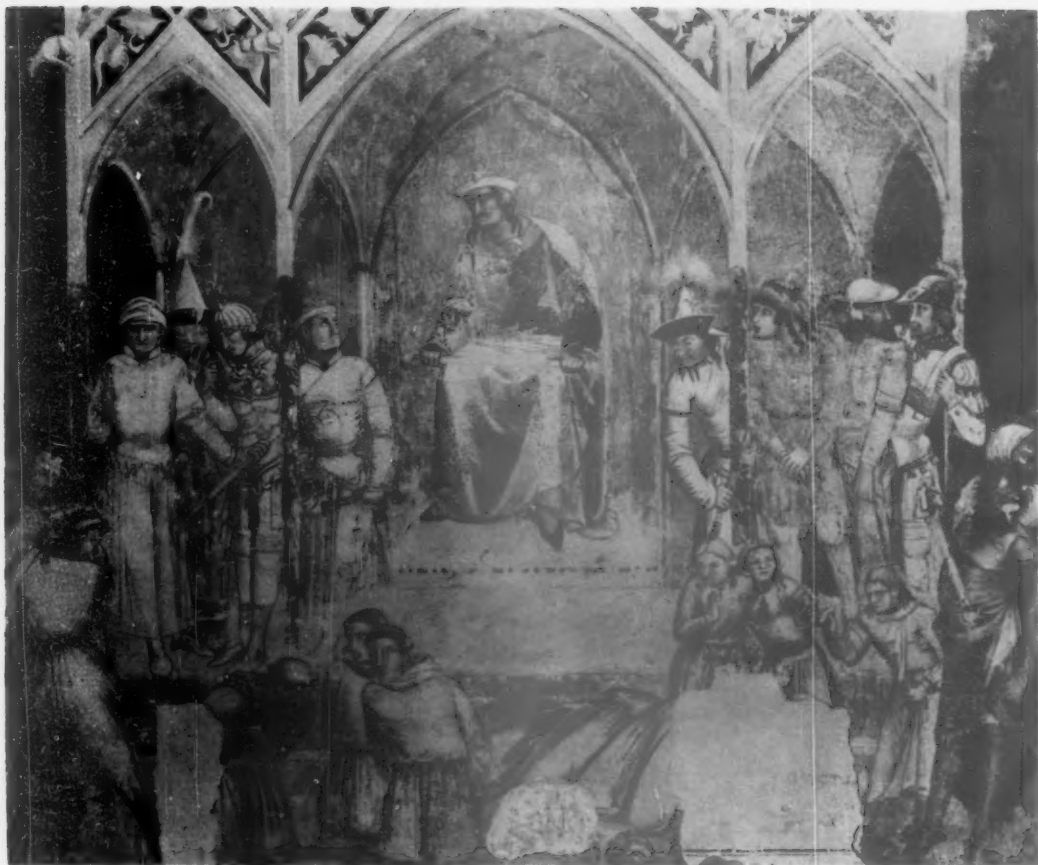


FIG. 5. Siena, S. Francesco: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Martyrdom of Franciscan Friars



FIG. 6. Florence, Palazzo Riccardi: Giotto, Procession of Magi, Detail



FIG. 7. Detail of Figure 5



FIG. 8. Florence, S. Maria Novella: Andrea da Firenze, *Ecclesia Militans*, Oriental Types

than a racial mark, those eyes, so distinctive in early Tuscan religious painting, seem to be an artifice designed to accomplish the transfiguration of human features by the stylization of the most expressive details. This is, of course, an internal, merely artistic interpretation of a striking stylistic element, but better than far-fetched assumptions and technical explanations, it comes close to explaining the very essence of an art in which the trend toward spiritualization always interferes with the painter's lively interest in the corporeal aspects of reality. The apparent exoticism of those strange eyes is really only an evasion of naturalism. The idea of a Chinese influence can be abandoned without any loss to our historical and artistic understanding of this new style of painting. Even if an Asiatic infiltration into Western Europe were admitted, it is hardly conceivable that it could have interfered with the artistic vision inspired by faith, contemplation and firm traditional requirements. The religious art of the early Tuscan Renaissance aspires to a vivid pictorial embodiment of human spiritual perfection but not to a realistic reproduction of physiognomical or ethnic details.

Fidelity to nature in rendering even the exceptional aspects of the world is a characteristic trait of illustrative and narrative art which does not seek to depict the direct manifestation of divinity in human features but to give convincing substance to the biblical, historical, and hagiographical examples of human devotion, worship, and sacrifice. This kind of painting had been inaugurated by Giotto at the turn of the century with a resolute and original effort toward scenic, dramatic, and emotional reproduction of famous events in biblical and ecclesiastical history. Together with the brisk and eloquent gesture, the spatial dimensions, and the intimate liveliness of his figures he inaugurated "couleur locale" as a new element of pictorial realism. In representing Herod's Feast, the Scourging of Christ (Fig. 3) or St. Francis before the Sultan both the historical and ethnic environments are carefully considered in countenances, costumes, and details. For the first time a clear physiognomical and ornamental differentiation is made between the Saracens and the Romans who usually in the illuminated manuscripts of historical or poetical texts throughout the fourteenth century are represented in the same attire.²⁴

In Giotto's frescos the athletic Berber, the Nubian Moor, and the Roman soldier reveal the effort toward an ethnic individualization stressed by characteristic attire and pertinent attitudes. In all these cases the representatives of historically and geographically distant countries no longer

appear as monsters, masks, or puppets, but as human beings, sometimes of authentic portraiture. Apart from their garments and ornaments, all the orientals to be found in Giotto's frescos could have been picked up in any Italian seaport, particularly in Naples or Venice where they were an ordinary sight. They do not represent oriental exoticism in a strict sense. Those figures did not evoke the mystery of distant lands or the secret horror of the unknown. They were familiar types of the Mediterranean commonwealth of peoples.

The historical painting thus initiated by Giotto with a stroke of genius and a superlative technical skill, brought the whole world into the graphic arts and opened an immense field for portraiture and imaginative activity. The temperament of the artists, and not the local traditions and schools of painting, determined the acceptance or rejection of Giotto's daring and successful attempt to bring his art nearer to life, history, and nature. Indeed, it is in Siena, the town of gold grounds and ecstatic Madonnas, that he found his most direct emulator in the combining of a religious event with an animated display of authentic and colorful orientalism. The martyrdom of some Franciscan friars (Fig. 5) gave the Siennese Ambrogio Lorenzetti play for his dynamic talent for lively, striking, and impressive scenes of a realistic and picturesque character. Thirty years after Giotto's activity in Padua and Florence, Ambrogio decorated the Church of St. Francis in Siena with a representation of one of the most stirring events in the history of the Seraphic Order. The fresco, which is generally known as *The Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Ceuta* (Morocco), represents the torturing and beheading of friars in 1227.²⁵ Recently the scene has been connected with the execution of missionaries of the same order in Tana, on the Western coast of India, where the friars were forced to land, in 1321, on their way to China.²⁶ If that is so, the fresco would refer to a contemporary event in which a monk from Siena is said to have taken part and gained eternal bliss.²⁷

In no way do the details of the painted scene correspond

25. For the event as narrated by Franciscan sources cf. Wadding's *Annales Minorum* . . . , 3d ed., Quaracchi, 1931, II, pp. 29-34.

26. Edgell, *Siennese Painting*, pp. 128-130.

27. For historical and legendary details cf. Wadding, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 399-407; *Sinica Franciscana*, I, pp. 424-439, and G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della terrasantia e dell'oriente francescano*, Quaracchi, 1906-1927, III, pp. 211-213. In both cases and in all the sources the martyrdom of the Franciscan friars is described as a consequence of their provocative and even insulting attitude which was hardly justified by the circumstances and the character of the missions. Therefore the authenticity of the reports is questionable. As to Peter de Senis, who would explain Lorenzetti's fresco, he is said to have been a "clericus sine ordine sacro," not a Franciscan monk (*Sinica Franciscana*, I, p. 425, note 4), while the inscription, "Protege, Petre, etc.," did not belong to this fresco. Cf. G. Sinibaldi, *I Lorenzetti*, Siena, 1933, p. 213.

24. In the Ms. III of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (cf. D. Ciampoli, *I codici francesi della Biblioteca nazionale di S. Marco*, Venice, 1893), Julius Caesar is represented by an Italian miniaturist of the fourteenth century in the attire and attitude of a Saracen sovereign. Iconography of this kind is influenced by the popular French poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which identified antique paganism with the religion of Mohammed.

with the data of the Franciscan martyrology. The vague geographical knowledge predominating among laymen and the similarity of events narrated in contemporary sources caused the painter to conceive the scene in a general sense rather than indulge in realistic coloring of a specific exotic environment. In both cases Franciscan friars had been victims of Mohammedan fanaticism. To Ambrogio Lorenzetti, who never left his own country, it made little difference whether the event depicted took place in a seaport of Morocco or on a small island off the Indian coast. His painting is the realization of a pictorial orientalism the elements of which no longer retrace typical aspects of the Mediterranean variety of races but display a startling exoticism of an unmistakably Asiatic character. Among the personages represented in the scene there are no Moors, Saracens, or Berbers, but — aside from sundry rather familiar or conventional figures and apart from a few fancy dresses — it is easy to recognize in the faces and attitudes Mongolian, Sarmatic, and Central Asiatic types never heretofore found in the figure arts of Western Europe (Fig. 7). Evidently in this case a new and strange Asiatic exoticism took the place of the familiar Mediterranean orientalism developed by Giotto a generation before.

This circumstance has always aroused much speculation. A mass of heterogeneous material has been collected in order to connect these exotic appearances on a cloister wall of Siena with the missions "ad Tartaros," Marco Polo, the Christian diaspora of the Far East, and with the Tartar embassies to the Popes and other more or less secret ties linking the Western to the Asiatic world. The impression has been given that Tuscany was almost a neighboring country of the great Mongolian Empire and that Mandarins, Khans, and oriental dignitaries were almost as much at home in Florence and Siena as in Peking, Tabriz, and Calicut. It is through these exaggerations and a corresponding lack of criticism and discernment that a few allusions to distant or fabulous countries in popular poems of the Quattrocento, drawn from antique texts and from reminiscences, have been interpreted as documents of an alleged "fureur asiatique" burning in the brains of the hard working and very positive Tuscan people.²⁸ This is mere hallucination. Nor can Lorenzetti's fresco be interpreted as proof that "about this time the arts and crafts of the contemporary orient were beginning to invade Italy."²⁹ In reality the whole of Trecento painting can show only one other example of an unquestionable, but problematic, Asiatic exoticism.

A little group painted shortly after 1350 by Andrea da

28. Soulier, *Influences orientales*, p. 321. The allusions contained in those poems refer to Lybian snakes, Indian elephants, Scythian hunters, and the perfumes of Saba, Arabia, and India, i.e., to the commonplaces of a literary orientalism of classic origin.

29. B. Berenson, *Essays in the Study of Sieneese Painting*, New York, 1918, p. 31, note 1.

Firenze, in the foreground of his fresco in the Spanish Chapel of S. Maria Novella in Florence (Fig. 8), has always attracted the attention of lovers of Tuscan art.³⁰ There a Florentine dandy of that time and his companion are represented talking with two dignified men whose countenances, costumes, and attitudes hint at Central or Eastern Asia. The conventional traits of two old, bearded orientals sitting to the right of the group throw into relief the realistic rendering of the two strange personages. Their appearance in this teeming representation of the *Ecclesia Militans* is explained by Andrea's intention to give a vivid image of the people, the historical figures, and the habits and dress of his time and country. Lorenzetti did the same without any oriental touch in his famous Allegories of Good and Bad Government in the townhall of Siena.

In the Spanish Chapel the exotic guests evidently emphasize the universal rule of the Church and the conquests of the Dominican Order which are glorified in this spectacular decoration. In addition to being a pair of striking portraits the two orientals are a symbol of the recent expansion of the Church and the Order in the East through the missions "ad Tartaros." Their ethnic traits do not permit identification of their country of origin, but there can be no question that the two men are Catholics dressed up as more or less authentic orientals. No heathen or Saracen, no Nestorian or Greek could have been represented in this form in a fresco dedicated to the triumph of the Catholic Church. By this token their exoticism is ecclesiastical and picturesque rather than racial or esoteric. Since Andrea painted in this fresco the idealized portraits of Boccaccio, Petrarch, and other famous men of his century,³¹ it can be supposed that he wanted to represent in that oriental attire Marco Polo and his father, both described in the former's book as champions of the Christian faith and papal envoys to the Tartar court. Andrea painted his fresco about thirty years after Marco's death (1324), but the great traveller was not forgotten. It is, in fact, alleged that for a long time there was always in the Venetian masques one individual who assumed the character of "Marco Milioni," as he was familiarly called in his native town.³² The early translation of his book into the pure Tuscan dialect of the Trecento and Giovanni Villani's mention of him in his

30. The date is not definitively established, but since the chapel was erected in 1350 it can be assumed that its decoration was initiated soon after its architectural completion.

31. R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923-1938, III, pp. 425-432.

32. Col. H. Yule in *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* . . . , 3d ed., London and New York, 1923, I, p. 67, and A. C. Moule in the introduction to Marco Polo's *Description of the World*, I, p. 33, note 3. It seems that after Pigafetta's return from Magalhaes' circumnavigation of the earth, in 1521, a mask of this famous companion of the Portuguese navigator replaced the old fashioned Marco Polo in the Venetian carnival. But no contemporary document confirms this unusual testimonial to the Venetian travellers.

chronicle of Florence prove that Marco Milioni was no less popular there than in his own native town.

More than that, a decisive reason prompted the painter to insert the imaginary portrait of the Polos into his pictorial glorification of the Church and the Dominican Order. The Dominican Francesco Pipino of Bologna, who, about 1315-1320, translated Marco's book into Latin, expressed in the preface of his famous version the opinion "that the perusal of the Book by the Faithful may merit an abounding Grace from the Lord," because of the edifying character of that description of the world. By reading it, the Friar added, "the hearts of some members of the religious orders may be moved to strive for the diffusion of the Christian Faith, and by the Divine Aid to carry the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, forgotten among so vast multitudes, to those blinded nations, among whom the harvest is indeed so great, and the laborers so few." This is the very idea which inspired and still animates the oriental details of Andrea's teeming and colorful fresco.

IV

Compared with the great variety of works and subjects painted during the Trecento these few bits of true orientalism are of little consequence in the early Italian art of the Renaissance, while in its uninterrupted flowering during the fifteenth century, examples of Asiatic exoticism are even less numerous and important. In a strict sense only one of the Quattrocento artists portrayed an Asiatic type in an unequivocal and realistic image. This figure appears in a group of riders in Pisanello's fresco of St. George in the Church of St. Anastasia at Verona. In spite of his Tuscan name the painter was a Veronese who, about 1440, decorated this beautiful church in his native city. A preparatory sketch of the same exotic man (Fig. 4), delineated with bow and arrow in rustic but elaborate attire, shows Pisanello's particular interest in the strange, stout, grim-looking fellow. The ingenious Veronese artist, who engraved in famous medals the foremost personalities of his time, used the same penetrating style and skill in drawing gruesome, curious, and exotic figures and scenes in the human and animal kingdoms.³³ It is easy to recognize in the broad-faced Mongolian of the Church of St. Anastasia a specimen of the Eastern Asiatic race, as represented by the nomad tribes scattered over the continent.³⁴ But the bow this Mongol holds in his hand has no particular oriental features and it is the same kind that is carried by a rude, blubber-lipped oriental of decidedly Negroid appearance who stands to the left of Cosimo de' Medici in the train of

knights and servants in Benozzo Gozzoli's procession of the Magi (Fig. 6). It is certainly a striking fact that these two exotic types, undoubtedly painted from life, by Italian artists of the Quattrocento are archers serving in a knightly, aristocratic environment. In spite of the independence of the two frescos this affinity is not a mere coincidence.

Considered with a sober mind and a clear idea of their function in their respective pictorial frameworks these two details reveal the true character of the realistic interest felt by the Italian painters of the Quattrocento in Asiatic races and countries. Both figures play subordinate parts in the great compositions in which they appear. They are simple serving men of a rather low degree, comparable to the Saracens and Negroes sometimes represented in similar attitudes in contemporary paintings, drawings, and miniatures or in the rapid sketches of artists who liked to catch the striking varieties of life and nature. Yet where had these artists seen the exotic types they portrayed with a fidelity to nature so scrupulous and candid? None of them had ever crossed the boundaries of his native country. The orientals they depicted were not of the types appearing in Asiatic paintings or drawings which might have served as models or stimulated the skill and fancy of the Italian painters.

It has been suggested that the Quattrocento painters found their oriental prototypes among the suite of the emperor of Byzantium, who in 1438 and 1439 participated in the Council of Ferrara and Florence. But a close examination of the circumstances connected with this great event in the ecclesiastical history of the Renaissance makes its influence on contemporary artistic imagination improbable.

So far as Benozzo Gozzoli's frescos are concerned — their orientalism has been much exaggerated — this influence must be flatly denied. It is difficult to believe that the short stay of the Emperor and his court in Florence in the summer months of 1439 could have had any effect on a pictorial composition created twenty years later by an artist who probably never saw the display of Byzantine pomp which was made in the streets of some Italian cities. In the numerous and reliable descriptions of the Council there is not the slightest hint that the Byzantine Emperor had in his escort dignitaries, servants, or armed men from Mongolia, India, or other Asiatic lands. Vespasiano da Bisticci, who gives a short description of this embassy in his biography of Pope Eugene IV,³⁵ speaks only of Greeks accompanying the Emperor, and it is only to accommodate his account to an untenable thesis that this term has been interpreted as designating the imaginary Asiatics of the Byzan-

33. Cf. G. H. Hill, *Dessins de Pisanello*, Paris and Brussels, 1929, and A. Venturi, *Pisanello*, Rome, 1939.

34. G. H. Hill, *Pisanello*, London, 1905, p. 87, identified the man as a Kalmuck.

35. "Vita di Eugenio IV," in Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri*, Florence, 1859, especially Chapters 12-14.

tine court.³⁶ It is not by such juggleries that an interesting historical problem can be investigated and solved.

The only orientals participating in the Council were the representatives of the Egyptian Coptic Church, the Jacobite sect of Mesopotamia and the Abyssinian Monophysites of Jerusalem.³⁷ In spite of the fact that they were together regarded as envoys of the legendary Prester John of Ethiopia, none of these representatives of oriental Christianity came directly from that almost inaccessible country. Pope Eugene IV charged the sculptor and architect Antonio Averlino Filarete to perpetuate in a bronze relief his reception of these strange and rare guests.³⁸ The scene ornaments a door panel of St. Peter's in Rome. But a contemporary document reveals the disappointment of the Florentines in discovering that the subjects of the powerful "Prester John of India" were "men of a very mean appearance."³⁹ The churches of Russia and Armenia had also sent some high ranking prelates to the Council, but they did not especially impress the general public and were not particularly noticed among the exotic visitors then gathered in Rome, Florence, and Ferrara. Churchmen of the Near East did not constitute an exceptional sight in Quattrocento Italy. Nor were they wont to travel with a suite of armed men. It is significant, indeed, that the contemporary painters did not portray any one of these representatives of oriental Christianity. They confined themselves to drawing the exotic features of low and rude types like Pisanello's and Gozzoli's archers.⁴⁰

No explanation of Asiatic exoticism in the Tuscan art of the Trecento can be gleaned from the pilgrimage of a Nestorian priest like Rabban Sauma, who came to Rome in 1287 from China and then went to France before re-

turning to his native country.⁴¹ Whether this lonely oriental churchman could have stirred the artists of his days and those of the subsequent generation is not an historical problem; it is a question to be answered by common sense. And during the residence of the Papal court in Avignon, from 1309 to 1377, no visitors of this kind were ever seen in Rome.

Likewise nothing substantial can be deduced from the diplomatic and political contacts between Tartar and Western dignitaries which took place, from time to time, in the Near East.⁴² These embassies were concerned with an exchange of presents. The oriental envoys usually brought precious garments and textiles like those still preserved in French churches and museums. We know from several authentic reports that the Christian rulers liked to send to the Tartars works of European craftsmanship of a religious or ornamental character.⁴³ As to commercial connections, the return of the Polo family to Venice in 1295, after an absence of twenty-five years, marks the most important, if not the only event of this kind in more than a century. It impressed Polo's countrymen and contemporaries so deeply that Giovan Battista Ramusio, a Venetian nobleman and scholar of the sixteenth century, was still able to narrate the details, handed down by oral tradition and, accordingly, colored by popular imagination and distorted by legendary misinterpretations.⁴⁴ This lasting impression shows how exceptional the event has been considered in Italy for three centuries.

There is no doubt that when Marco Polo came back to his native country, which he had left at the age of seventeen, he looked like an oriental. So did his father and uncle, who had spent most of their lives in the Near and Far East. "They were quite changed in appearance," Ramusio says, "and had taken on a certain indescribable smack of the Tartar both in air and accent." Marco had almost forgotten his native tongue and could not easily make himself understood when he told the wonders of the East to his countrymen. Three years later he had to dictate his "Description of the World" to a professional Italian writer who was more interested in attractive tales of wonder than in objective reports.

As to the merchandise the Polos had carried in a three years' journey by sea and land from Peking to Venice, the same Ramusio tells that their coarse and shabby clothes of a Tartar cut were covered with "jewels of the greatest quantity" and that they lavishly distributed among their servants

36. H. Soulier, *op. cit.*, p. 311. In Filarete's representation of the Emperor's voyages on the bronze door of St. Peter's only Greek churchmen appear, in their characteristic costumes, as members of his suite. For the representation of the episodes of the Council by Filarete cf. M. Lazzaroni and A. Muñoz, *Filarete, scultore e architetto del secolo XV*, Rome, 1908, pp. 70-82.

37. Cf. E. Cerulli, "Eugenio IV e gli Etiopi al Concilio di Firenze," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali* . . . , Ser. VI, IX, 1933, pp. 347 ff. This is the only reliable contribution to our knowledge of the oriental participation at the Council, based on the original documents preserved in a special silver case at the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence.

38. Lazzaroni-Muñoz, *op. cit.*, figs. 64 and 65.

39. Cerulli, *op. cit.*, p. 349. The Abyssinian representatives entered Florence on September 26, 1441, and arrived in Rome a fortnight later.

40. There is no evidence that the artists were especially impressed by the envoy of the "Sultan of Babylon," i.e., the Mameluke King of Egypt. The envoy, in 1487, brought a lion and a giraffe and stayed in Florence for nine months. Elephants were brought to Italy by orientals at different epochs. Short information and bibliography may be found in L. Geiger's appendix to J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Leipzig, 1919, II, Sections LXXXIX and XCI.

41. A. C. Moule, *Christians in China before 1550*, London, 1930, pp. 94-127.

42. Best report of these diplomatic relations in G. Soranzo, *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari*, Milan, 1930.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Col. H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I, pp. 4 ff.

the material of their oriental robes of crimson satin, damask, and velvet, "reaching to the ground such as people in those days wore within doors." But the family's testaments and legal documents do not confirm these details or the rumor of the travellers' fabulous wealth.⁴⁵ They seem to have been deprived at Trebisond of many of the valuables which they had carried safely to the borders of the Western world. Since they set out on their first trip into Asia, in 1262, the Polos' main trade had been in jewels, and they probably brought to Venice some of the precious stones in which they had invested the riches accumulated during a stay of seventeen years in Kubilai's China and during their journey home through Hormuz and Tabriz, the principal pearl markets of the time.

Beside these jewels, textiles and some flour of sago collected in the East Indies, we know of only a few *chinoiseries* imported into Venice by our travellers.⁴⁶ The robes of "satin," mentioned by Ramusio, might have come directly from China and the seaport of Zaitun in the Fu-Kian province. But exceptional events like the Polos' return were not needed in order to bring Chinese textiles to Italy. Because of its low initial price and because of the inflation of Tartar paper-currency, such textiles were the only commodity which the Florentine commercial agent Francesco Balducci Pegolotti reported, about 1340, as regular articles of export from Cathay.⁴⁷ These silks were highly appreciated in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. One of these rare Chinese garments has been found in the coffin of Can Grande della Scala, Lord of Verona, who died in 1329, who was so inspired by his vision of the magnificence of Asia that he could bear the title of the Mongolian rulers — Can Grande — without being ridiculed by friends and subjects.⁴⁸ The ideal image of the Grand Khan hovered before the mind of this little Italian prince as an embodiment of imperial might and utopian grandeur. The Chinese fashion in shrouds had already helped to keep alive this lofty illusion, which Dante seems to have shared when he was a guest at the court of Verona in 1304. In that very year Pope Benedict XI was buried in Perugia wrapped in a Chinese garment.

For a long time oriental clothes were an attribute of sovereign rank and dignity. Frederick II of Hohenstaufen attired himself like an emir and the imperial dalmatic of his successors in Germany was of authentic Chinese make.⁴⁹

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 70 ff., and A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, Marco Polo's *Description of the World*, I, pp. 28 ff.

46. Yule, *op. cit.*, Introduction, I, pp. 78-80.

47. *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans, Cambridge, Mass., 1937, p. 23.

48. Cf. G. Sangiorgi, "Le stoffe e le vesti tombali di Cangrande della Scala," *Bollettino d'arte*, I, 1922, pp. 443-457.

49. The best description of the Emperor's orientalism is by E. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, 1194-1250, English ed. by

Rudolf of Habsburg, who died in Milan in 1356, was buried in his robe of state of Persian provenance, the garment still bearing its original ornamental inscription.⁵⁰ In conformity with this tradition Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici appear in Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco in oriental clothing covered thick with gold and scrolls. This gorgeous attire, borrowed from the pictorial representations of the three Magi, manifested the self-bestowed rights and dignity of the Medici house as a ruling dynasty with autocratic power.

Since the early Middle Ages the idea of power and domination seems to have been somehow connected with the legendary vision of oriental wealth and luster as represented by Alexander the Great, Prester John, and finally the Grand Khan. It was for this reason that Asiatic textiles, patterns, and models came into fashion in the late Middle Ages. The increasing wealth and ambition of the patricians produced in the upper and middle classes a demand for silken and golden materials of this royal style. The so-called "drappi tartareschi" referred to by Dante (*Inf.* xvii, 17) became more and more fashionable and popular, although their cost was enormous.⁵¹ In spite of Pegolotti's statements, direct trade with the countries of the Far East was not very active. We know of only two Italian merchants who were residents of China at that epoch: Andalō of Savignone and Petrus de Lucalongo. The latter accompanied Friar Johannes of Monte Corvino to China and bought the plot where the first Catholic Church in the capital of the Khan was erected in 1305.⁵² After the Polos there is no record of Italian traders returning from China until Niccolò de' Conti, coming from the Far East by the sea route, landed in Italy in 1439.⁵³ During this long period commercial exchange was almost exclusively in the hands of commission agents and oriental middlemen residing in the ports of the Crimea and the Caspian Sea and scattered cities in Asia Minor and Syria. Only a few wealthy men were able to secure genuine oriental silks. With the increasing demand during the fourteenth century the silk weaver's trade was established in Venice,

E. O. Lorimer, London, 1931, and the bibliographical *Ergänzungsband* of the original German edition, Berlin, 1931. For the dalmatic of the German Emperors cf. O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, p. 31.

50. Cf. H. Demel, "Das Leichengewand Herzog Rudolfs von Oesterreich," *Kirchenkunst*, v, 1933, pp. 33 ff.

51. Cf. Paget Toynbee, "Tartar Cloths," *Romania*, xxix, 1900, pp. 558 ff.

52. *Simica Franciscana*, I, pp. 352 ff., and A. C. Moule, *Christians in China*, London, 1930, p. 179.

53. Niccolò de' Conti was the only traveller after Marco Polo who, in 1439, brought back to Italy direct information about India, the Sunda Islands and Indo-China. He spent twenty-five years in the East where he was forced to embrace the Mohammedan faith. Cf. M. Longhena, *Viaggi in Persia, India e Giava di Niccolò de' Conti*, Milan, 1929.

Florence, and Lucca, and produced, in the numerous workshops of the "arte della seta," imitations of oriental patterns as well as original inventions of the craftsman's fancy. As a matter of fact, the latter were soon preferred and were developed in a style and technique more congenial to Italian taste and tradition.⁵⁴

This is the reason why there is so little trace of oriental crafts in Italian life and art of the early Renaissance. Most of the Asiatic exoticism is of Italian origin, both technically and stylistically. Interest in the fabulous countries at the end of the world was, of course, always lively, but the fantastic picture of the lands of gold and silver, of pearls and precious stones, of spices and marvels grew more and more popular as the East became less accessible to ordinary commerce and exploration. The realistic reports of the missionaries were almost forgotten in the fifteenth century, and Mandeville's forgery had already supplanted Marco Polo's more reliable "Description of the World." This evolution of the popular and literary image of the East was aided by the mystery which surrounded the origin of the riches whose mirage inspired the enterprises of Columbus and Vasco da Gama in search of the fabulous regions of India and the lands of the Grand Khan. But in the creative realism of contemporary Italian art exoticism does not go beyond a few conventional decorative accessories or modish details "alla turchesca" or "alla moresca." There is no trace of imitation of the authentic East Asiatic, no trace of East Asiatic influence which would justify a systematic comparison of artistic trends and monuments in the two independent spheres of taste and inspiration.

V

These critical conclusions isolate the few but impressive cases in which a real representation of Asiatic types in the Italian art of the Renaissance appears to exist beyond doubt. The Asiatic costumes of these people do not create a problem. Exotic dress was known and appreciated everywhere in Europe and constituted an article of trade. The essential question is how to explain the Mongolian heads of the men in Lorenzetti's fresco or Pisanello's and Gozzoli's Asiatic archers. The scholars who constructed complicated systems of far-fetched hypotheses for the solution of this riddle overlooked a very obvious and simple fact. During the Renaissance, Italy, and especially Florence, had a considerable Asiatic population of recent immigration and settlement. The historians of Italian orientalism in art and life have overlooked the slave markets of Venice, Genoa, Florence, Naples, and most of the large and small towns in Italy, which harbored a particularly busy section of the Asiatic slave trade in Europe. A multitude of documents, still preserved in Italian archives, many of them carefully

edited in easily accessible publications, reveal that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Mongolian slaves were preferred, in Florence and elsewhere, for indoor work and every kind of hard or degrading labor.⁵⁵ The very incomplete *Registro degli schiavi*, kept by the Florentine State between 1366 and 1397, mentions two hundred and fifty-nine Tartars, mostly women, as well as three Circassians, seven Russians, one Arab, and one Saracen sold by the officially recognized local slave dealers of that city. The proportion was the same in other places of Northern Italy and of Tuscany, where even minor centers like Pistoia, Prato, and Siena had a more or less appreciable quota of Asiatic slave labor.⁵⁶

It is important to note in those documents and in the files and letters of subsequent centuries that careful racial differentiation was always made by the dealers as well as by purchasers and officials, who did not fail to register individual peculiarities of age, stature, complexion, origin, provenance, name, and state of health. These short descriptions are correct and reliable. They ordinarily mention the yellowish complexion characteristic of the Mongolian race, the small pug-noses and blinking slit-eyes, and they specify defects acquired by disease and accidents or disfiguring marks on faces, hands, and bodies.⁵⁷ This careful distinction of racial origin was occasioned by the legislation introduced in Siena as early as 1356, and by the Florentine State in 1369. In accordance with ecclesiastical authority these laws sanctioned the slave trade in unbaptized persons and were in consequence favorable to the influx of pagan people from Asia into the most civilized centers of the Western world.⁵⁸ The Asiatic element was the most numerous be-

55. The most recent book on the subject is by R. Livi, *La schiavitù domestica nei tempi di mezzo . . .*, Padua, 1928. For Florence cf. A. Zanelli, *Le schiave orientali in Firenze nei sec. XIV e XV*, Florence, 1885, and R. Davidsohn's *Geschichte von Florenz*, IV, Berlin, 1925, pp. 251-252. In writing to her son Filippo, on September 13, 1465, the Florentine lady, Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi, advised him to prefer a Tartar slave as the most fit for housework. (Cf. C. Guasti, *Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi. Lettere di una gentildonna fiorentina del sec. XV . . .*, Florence, 1877, pp. 474-475.) Marco Polo praised Tartar women as "notable housewives" (Col. H. Yule, *op. cit.*, I, p. 252). Speaking of the Crimean slave markets, the fifteenth century Spanish traveller, Pero Tafur (*Travels and Adventures*, translated and edited by M. Letts, New York and London, 1926, p. 113) affirms that "if there is a Tartar man or woman among them the price is a third more, since it may be taken as certain that no Tartar ever betrayed a master."

56. The slave legislation of Siena, introduced in 1356 and evidently based on a long and complex experience with oriental slaves, was the first of its kind in Tuscany. Cf. E. Grottanelli de' Santi, "Provvisioni senesi riguardanti schiavi e schiave nei sec. XIV e XV," *Miscellanea storica senese*, II, 1893, pp. 102-106 and 120-124. For Venice cf. the article of V. Lazari in *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, II, 1863, pp. 463-497, who unfortunately failed to publish the numerous documents concerning the Venetian slave trade throughout the Middle Ages.

57. Cf. the documents and letters published by R. Livi, *op. cit.*

58. St. Antoninus, at that time bishop of Florence, stated in his

54. Cf. von Falke, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 29-32 and 39-42.

cause there was no organized export of Mohammedan slave labor from North Africa. Saracens were not very much appreciated or trusted, while Tartars were praised for their physical endurance and good nature. These unfortunate creatures accordingly were shipped by the thousands from Western and Central Asia, and even from the Chinese and Tibetan borderlands,⁵⁹ to the ports of the Black Sea, whence they were transferred to the seaports of Venice, Ancona, and Genoa for distribution in the rest of the country.

This branch of Italian trade with the East must have started shortly after the Italian republics abolished, in the thirteenth century, the traditional indigenous serfdom.⁶⁰ In 1328 the Venetian Grand Council granted the rights of citizenship to Marco Polo's slave, Peter the Tartar, "as having been a long time in Venice, and well-conducted." The import of slaves from Asia increased rapidly after Italy's depopulation in consequence of the disastrous plague of 1348; it ended almost completely after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. By this trade the Mongolian type became very familiar in Northern Italy and especially in Florence, where the most conspicuous families, such as the Adimari, Alberti, Cavalcanti, Medici, Strozzi, Vespucci, and many others had their servants "de genere Tartarorum,"⁶¹ and were emulated by notaries, priests, physicians, merchants, and finally craftsmen and artists. Simone di Giovanni, the pretended brother of Donatello and collaborator of Filarete in making the bronze doors of St. Peter's, had a Tartar and a Russian slave in his Florentine home.⁶² An ancestor of Alesso Baldovinetti bought three of those exotic girls whose portraits he drew on the margin of his still unpublished journal.⁶³

Most of the accurate official descriptions of these creatures are anything but flattering. Expressions like "pulcra corpore" or "pelle alba" are rare. Yet the Mongolian slave girls seem to have been attractive enough to the Florentine male folk to become a disruptive element in

the family life and general morality of the town.⁶⁴ It is symptomatic that a lady of the rank of Alessandra Macchini Strozzi wrote jocosely, in 1464, about a girl slave flirting with her son and behaving like the lady of his household.⁶⁵ There is evidence enough for the important part played by these women in the amorous life of the town. Figures speak an impressive language. Among the 7,534 infants delivered, between 1394 and 1485, in the Florentine foundling hospital, up to 32 per cent were illegitimate children of those oriental slaves.⁶⁶ When recognized, these halfbreeds followed the condition of the father and were declared free by law.⁶⁷

In this way a large influx of Asiatic blood penetrated into the Tuscan population during the most brilliant epoch of its cultural and economic evolution. Other Italian towns with a high standard of life and wealth, and even smaller places all over the country, had a similar exotic population within their walls. But the poor wretches tossed up on the Italian shores by Venetian and Genoese dealers and intermediary agents had nothing to tell about their native countries. These boys and girls were captured and sold at a tender age, and when they reached their destinations most of them were not yet in their teens.⁶⁸ They came to the market "almost naked," as the crude language of the documents monotonously repeats, and their Tartar or Turkish names, the sole legacy brought from distant lands, they gave up at the baptismal font as soon as they became the property of their first purchaser. As they came by the thousand and were rapidly absorbed by the indigenous population, a certain Mongolian strain could not have been rare in Tuscan homes and streets.⁶⁹ But its influence on artistic types and artistic inspiration has been insignificant. A painter from Siena, Paolo di Giovanni Fei, who worked in the second half of the fourteenth century, liked to give his feminine faces a Mongolian cast by painting their cheek bones higher than usual.⁷⁰ Some other characteristic traits of the Asiatic type may have attracted the interest of the Italian painters of the Quattrocento but there is no evidence of their con-

Summa Theologica (Florence, 1582, III, pp. 60 ff.) that baptism of slaves does not imply their liberation. Cf. A. Zanelli, *op. cit.*

59. Lazari, *op. cit.*, p. 470. The reason why the slaves came from the interior of the Asiatic continent may be sought in the fact that the populations of the Euro-Asiatic borderlands were Christians or Mohammedans who were not generally accepted in the mediaeval slave trade.

60. Zanelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff. This was the Italian branch of an extensive Asiatic slave trade whose main currents were directed from the ports of Crimea to Constantinople and Egypt. The Tartar element decreased after the fall of the Mongolian empire and was replaced by people from the Balkans and Russia.

61. In 1459, Giovan Francesco Strozzi had in his household more than fifty attendants and slaves. Cf. Zanelli, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

62. Cf. E. Müntz, "Les arts à la cour des Papes . . .," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire publiés par l'École Française de Rome*, 1884, p. 19.

63. G. Biagi, *Men and Manners of Old Florence*, Chicago, 1909, p. 100.

64. The documents of the Florentine foundling house of the Quattrocento reveal many somber domestic tragedies and some motifs for farces too. Slaves play an important part in Italian novels and comedies of the Renaissance.

65. Guasti, *op. cit.* Letter of July 4, 1464.

66. Cf. Livi, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 ff. Many of the girl slaves described in the *Registro degli schiavi*, mostly in their teens, were sold in a state of pregnancy and later used as nurses.

67. The mother had to remain a slave and was separated from child and home. Cf. Zanelli, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

68. By strictly enforced laws it was everywhere prohibited to employ slaves in workshops of any kind. A direct participation of these orientals in contemporary Italian craftsmanship is excluded by the legislation of the state and the charters of the corporations.

69. Italian anthropologists affirm that it is still recognizable, especially in the low strata of the population. Cf. the statistical surveys published by Livi, *op. cit.*, passim.

70. Cf. Edgell, *Sienese Painting*, p. 175.

taminating the pure and ideal types of their feminine figures by touches of oriental exoticism.

As to the few rude and authentic oriental types painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Pisanello, and Benozzo Gozzoli, there can be no doubt that they reproduce those male slaves from Western or Central Asia who served as menials, hunters, or soldiers in the household of Italian princes, magnates, and patricians. From Marco Polo's time the Tartars were famous for their excellence in archery.⁷¹ They were particularly in demand among the upward striving families of the new Florentine aristocracy. But they were also a common sight in the Italian commercial centers of the fourteenth century. Those poor fellows never inspired the visions of distant lands of gold, pearls, and precious stones, of the marvels and wonders evoked by mediaeval fiction or travel literature. With the multitude of their companions in servitude and misfortune, and with their more or less legal progeny, they represented the Asiatic element in the cosmopolitan population of Renaissance Italy.

Whenever an exotic type appears with realistic traits and characteristic attitudes in contemporary Italian paintings and drawings, sketches, or woodcuts, its living model can be supposed to have existed as a slave in the artist's closest environment. For the rest, Italian art of the Renaissance avoided every oriental influence, either compositional, struc-

tural, or stylistic, developing as a national expression of feeling and imagination within the European tradition. In this new style exoticism is merely an accessorial exception without any deeper significance or special artistic interest. Even in decorative details and ornamental patterns the oriental influence fades before the impetus of free and genuine creation. The new style of Giotto and Duccio arose from a new artistic consciousness which determined all essential expressions of creative imagination and even the rendering of accessories.

It belongs to the paradoxes of history that the early and traditional oriental exoticism in Italian art vanished just at the end of the thirteenth century when direct communication with Central Asia and the Far East was being inaugurated by missionaries and tradesmen. These political events and their economic consequences did not affect the spiritual life and the indigenous trends of contemporary civilization. The orientalism so prominent in all fields of artistic activity during the Middle Ages was first overshadowed by the inspiration of French Gothic and finally supplanted, together with all patterns of the *maniera greca*, by the original visions of ingenious artists and a national style of art. What was left of Asiatic exoticism is nothing more than a minor aspect of the inspired and lively realism characteristic of the Italian painting of the Renaissance.

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71. Cf. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, p. 460.

THE EVOLUTION OF SHANG AND EARLY CHOU BRONZES

LUDWIG BACHHOFFER

IN this paper I shall put down certain observations I have made in studying ancient Chinese bronzes. The problem which has chiefly interested me has been the sequence of styles during Shang and Early Chou times, down to the period now generally called Middle Chou. I do not want to enter upon a discussion of the literature on the subject, for little will be gained by proving other views to be false. The mere fact that this article has been written indicates that I have often found myself at variance with what has been said.

The student of early Chinese bronzes very soon gets the unpleasant feeling that he is standing on quicksand. He learns to expect the contradictory which invariably turns up once he has formed certain ideas. His attempts to bring sense and order to an apparent chaos are constantly thwarted by the monuments themselves.

Evidently the first thing to do is to get on firm ground. This can be done by tracing the development of certain types of vessels. If sufficient material is available, it should be possible to discriminate between early and late forms of the same vessel. Since the bronzes are decorated, the early and late stages of the décor can then be determined. This holds not only for the various motives, but above all for the relation of décor and vessel. If other types can be found to have been subject to like changes of form and décor, the sequence of styles established can no longer be regarded as an isolated phenomenon, but can claim general validity.

Not every vessel is fit for this important rôle. The vessel chosen must fulfill certain conditions. The most decisive is that it underwent considerable changes while retaining its basic shape; the second is that the changes were of a kind which permits the establishment of their sequence beyond doubt. Moreover, it is advisable to restrict the investigation to vessels with a theriomorphous décor; first, because the overwhelming majority of bronzes display it, and secondly, because the changes to which the several elements of the animal décor were subject are much more striking than those of the geometric patterns that were but rarely used.

Such a vessel is the squat *yu*, a moderate sized bucket

with a broad belly, a lid and a handle. The tall *yu* and the cylindrical *yu* cannot be used to advantage. This idea is not new. Trübner had it as early as 1929, but misled by certain preconceived notions, he arranged the various forms of the squat *yu* in an impossible order.¹ I discussed the matter in a seminar in 1934-35, and the results could not possibly be better described than they were by Max Loehr.² Loehr, however, did not tell how we came to the correct order, which is something that one who did not participate in those discussions might well wish to know. Once this order is established, the implications are of the first importance; and one of them is that a certain group of bronzes must be the earliest. This was Loehr's discovery; in his chapter entitled "The Archaic Phase" he analyzed their style admirably, but he offered no proof that the vessels were the earliest decorated bronzes. As a consequence, the correctness of his interpretation was challenged by Karlgren who ascribed works of this style to a much later period.³

This is not merely a difference of opinion about a group of bronzes, for it depends on the correct chronological position of this group whether or not we know the beginnings of bronze art in ancient China. Convinced that this difference would not have arisen if proper use had been made of the evidence furnished by the *yu*, I shall try to adduce it in this paper.

*
* *

The *yu* fall readily into three groups. The first comprises those vessels which have their bodies, feet and lids covered with an animal décor in reliefs of varying height, which have flanges of varying strength, and whose lids are crowned by a knob. In many cases the handle connects the broad, that is, the frontal sides; it is then fastened to the

1. Jörg Trübner, *Yu und Kuang. Zur Typologie der chinesischen Bronzen*, Leipzig, 1929.

2. Max Loehr, "Beiträge zur Chronologie der älteren chinesischen Bronzen," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F., XII, 1936, pp. 27 ff.

3. Bernhard Karlgren, "New Studies in Chinese Bronzes," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (henceforth *BMFEA*), IX, 1937, pp. 77 ff.

body by pegs protruding from the neck, and the ends of the handle cover them like caps (Fig. 1). The body is rather broad, and in diameter almost round (Trübner, pls. xv-xvi). The second group is made up of *yu* which look very simple and severe. They are comparatively tall and have no flanges. The décor is restricted to two or three narrow friezes around the foot, the neck and along the rim of the lid. The handle ends in two rings which are hooked into two other rings on the small sides of the body. One has a right to speak of the small sides, for the body is sharply compressed with two principal fronts, and two lesser sides. The lid ends in a knob (Fig. 2; Trübner, pl. xxiii). To the third group belong the *yu* which resemble those of the second group in the relationship of decorated and undecorated surfaces, and in the way the handles are fixed to the bodies. There the similarities end: the vessels are broader and stouter; the lids have flat shield-like protuberances on either side, and their knobs are replaced by oval feet. In other words, the lid is converted into a cup. In cross-section, these vessels look bulgy and well rounded. Their feet are broad, low and flat (Fig. 3; Trübner, pl. xxii).

It is plain even from this cursory description that Groups II and III are closely related. In fact, there are many pieces which show the gradual transition from one to the other stage.

A perfect specimen of the second group is a *yu* in the Victoria and Albert Museum; it was formerly in the Eumorfopoulos Collection (Fig. 2). Its maker aimed evidently at a clear, simple and noble form. The silhouette of body and lid is one of indescribable gracefulness, and yet it is charged with tense strength. The body rests on a strong and stout foot; its contracted part displays a slight entasis, and is covered with monocoli, a fantastic combination of hooked horizontal lines around a single eye. The shoulder carries a narrow frieze which is bordered by two rows of small circles, and plastic lines; its center is marked by a little animal head with horns, in relief. Extremely geometrized "dragons" are symmetrically arranged on either side of this head. Immediately above is the line dividing body and lid; what looks like the high neck of the vessel with its beautiful concave outline, is in reality the lower part of the lid. The upper part is gently domed, and set off in a sharp break. The frieze of the shoulder is repeated on it. The tall knob is decorated with six plastic cicadas. The handle ends in little plastic heads of an animal with "bottle" horns, and connects the small sides of the *yu*.

The most striking traits are simplicity of line, clarity of structure, beauty of rhythm and restraint in décor. A *yu* of this group expresses noble austerity to a degree never attained in any other period of the Chinese bronze age.

Excellent as this vessel is, some may prefer the *yu* in the collection of Mr. Fritz Kreisler (Trübner, pl. xxxiv). It is a little broader, the contours of body and lid advance and

recede with more determination, and produce a most pleasant harmonious silhouette. The friezes on shoulder and lid are seamed with "bow strings," not with files of little circles as on the *yu* in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The foot is decorated with two thin plastic lines.

The next step was a slight shift in proportions: the body was made a little more bulgy, and the lid reduced in height. This eased the tension and tautness of the contour. Quite in keeping with this new tendency, the knob became shorter and thicker (Trübner, pls. xxx-xxxI). In the following phase, line is definitely lazy. The belly is unmistakably sagging, and what this part has gained in breadth, it has lost in height. When seen from the side, the bulge is as conspicuous as when seen from the front. The lid has been turned into a drinking cup by replacing the familiar knob with a foot, and by adding two projections on the small sides. These projections have a practical function: they serve as supports for both hands when the cup is lifted. The *yu* of the Oppenheim Collection belongs to the third group (Trübner, pls. xxv-xxvi).

The sagging outline of the belly and the concave neck presented a problem not readily solved. There is an awkward break in the silhouette at the point where the lid sits on the body. A later *yu*, in the Kahn Collection, did not quite overcome this difficulty (Fig. 3). The vessel is stouter than any other *yu*, very broad in the beam, and has a slow movement in its outline. There is a quality of softness about the *yu* of this class, because the several parts are no longer sharply contrasted. The different shape of the foot, and its relation to the body illustrate this point.

The problem of the lid-cup was tackled next. The concave neck, a source of embarrassment for some time, was given up, and at once the general contour flowed placidly. The edge, formerly an important element in the silhouette of a *yu*, vanished also, and was replaced by a line as in Figure 4. This *yu*, in the Loo Collection, is a little taller than the ones discussed previously, but this must not be taken as an indication of greater age, since tall and short vessels were made at the same time. The decisive thing is that both were subject to the same changes, as time went on. More or less contemporaneous with the Loo *yu* is one in the Wannick Collection, an excellent specimen of Group III.⁴

There is a final stage that saw the victory of the domed lid-cup, and made a break from a tradition which must have been supreme for many generations, for the décor of such a *yu* now covers the whole vessel. It consists of large birds, with heads turned backward and long plumes surrounding them. Through their size and position they convey the impression of richness, and through their use of long curves, of movement. It is a rather halting movement,

4. S. Umehara, *Shina Kodō Seikwa*, 1933, pl. 80.

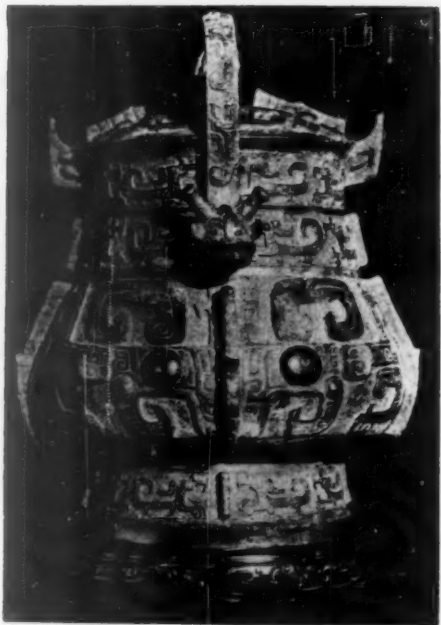


FIG. 1. Yu, Holmes Collection, New York



FIG. 2. Yu, Victoria and Albert Museum



FIG. 3. Yu, Kahn Collection, New York



FIG. 4. Yu, Loo Collection, New York



FIG. 5. Yu, Victoria and Albert Museum

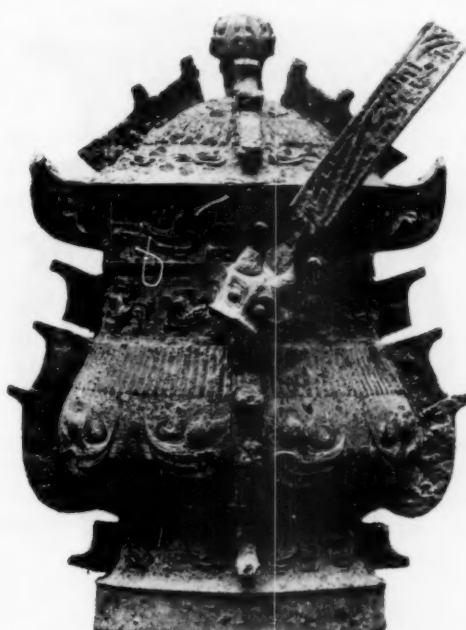


FIG. 6. Yu (Pao Chi), Metropolitan Museum



FIG. 7. *Yu*, Freer Gallery



FIG. 8. *Yu*, Victoria and Albert Museum



FIG. 9. *Yu*, Loo Collection, New York



FIG. 10. *Yu*, Private Collection, Boston



FIG. 11. *Chih*, Lundgren Collection, Malmö



FIG. 12. *Chih*, Freer Gallery

and confined to its own quarter, in the true sense of the word (Fig. 5). But it is obvious that new ideas about the rôle of the décor were then in the making. All this applies to the extremely short *yu* which is evidently in the majority, as well as to a somewhat taller version.⁵

A few words must be said about the heads of animals that form the ends of the handles. A number of vessels merely have rings which are hooked into one another. They all belong to Group II; and this simplicity of construction is quite in accordance with the ideal of absolute clarity to which every work of this group bears witness. The other handles terminate in the neck and head of an animal which is usually horned. On vessels of the most severe form only the upper part of the head is represented; it ends at the upper lip, as if the rest were cut away. This effect is particularly strong when the heads are seen from the side, that is, when they are in their normal position. A frontal view reveals a curiously square face with bulging eyes, incised lids, brows in relief, a diamond-shaped projection on the forehead, and little plastic ears. On the *yu* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the animal's horns have the shape of small bottles; on the Kreisler *yu* they are broad and flat; they swing outward and upward to come down abruptly; at the same time they are slightly pressed back (Trübner, pls. xxxiii, xxxv). Along with the transformation of the lid into a cup, and with the softening of the tense contour goes a change in these animal heads. For quite a while they look like the head of some rodent, with a long hanging snout and large round ears (Trübner, pls. xxv, xxvi). At the same time, new means of representation were introduced; a line now marks the form of the eye, and this line runs sometimes a little further, toward the temple; the various planes of the face no longer meet at sharp angles, but imperceptibly melt into one another. In other words, there is a new feeling at work for the continuity of form; the parts become integrated into a whole.

Some *yu* of Group III have still another animal. Seen from the side, it looks somewhat like the softly modelled head of a ram. This impression disappears when the head is viewed from the front; it looks then rather like a triangle with sharply cut and gracefully curved sides ending at the top in a combination of hooks and scrolls (Fig. 3; Trübner, pl. xxii). This playfulness is in strange contrast to the seriousness of the other solutions.

When going from a *yu* of Group II to one of Group III, one observes a change from a clearly subdivided to a unified form, from a tense to a limp silhouette, and from an angular to a fluent line in the décor. The same holds for the animal heads in which the handles end. All this does not, however, prove that one group is earlier than the other. It is certain that the *yu* of Figures 2 and 5 mark the extremes

of an evolutionary sequence; but no evidence has as yet been offered as to which vessel stands at its beginning or end.

Of the two variants into which the *yu* of the first group can be roughly divided, one is very broad in the beam, and almost round in diameter; it has small flanges, and a comparatively low lid. The other type has a rather compressed body, very broad, sometimes quite elaborate flanges, and a tall lid. The transverse handle is common to both; only a few vessels of the second type have handles which connect their small sides. This position of the handle, and a flattened body are among the main characteristics of Group II; it follows that the broad round *yu* is the earliest known type, and the *yu* with a décor of large birds the last.

One of the earliest *yu* is in the Musée Cernuschi, Paris (Trübner, pls. xv-xvi). It is rather broad in appearance. Its parts are well defined by smooth horizontal bands which cut across the moderate flanges. An interesting feature is that the frieze under the lid is much taller than the one on the lid; and it is clearly intended to mark the neck of the vessel, not its shoulder. The lid itself is short and flat, as lids of *yu* go. Like the body, it is divided into four sections by flanges. It is crowned by a small knob, and provided with "horns" at either side which indicate that it was used for libations. This feature, and its broad stature, bring this earliest type close to the vessels of Group III. What produces a dissimilar effect is the laborious structure, and the decorative system in which the flanges must be included. The decoration differs in style and in subject-matter. Here is an animal décor which covers practically the whole vessel; its main theme is a *t'ao-t'ieh* whose coherent form is set off in strong relief from a background of fine square spirals.⁶ A *yu* in the Holmes Collection, New York, resembles very much the one in the Musée Cernuschi (Fig. 1). It is almost identical with a *yu* in the Nezu Collection.⁷ Both have a rather sagging body, and the friezes above and below the mouth are now alike in height and ornament. This innovation makes them appear much taller, and, since the lower part of the lid is concavely bent, much more elegant. The flanges have increased in size, as have the "horns" of the lid, the edge of which juts a little forward, and seems sharpened. The foot of the Nezu *yu* is treated in this same way. It rests upon a short elliptical socle of its own which is just a few millimeters too small. This gives the effect of ease, and was obviously considered a happy invention, for it was widely used.

There is ample evidence that the artists worked incessantly on what they undoubtedly believed to be improvements. They were always in search of new solutions. Some

6. For another *yu* of the earliest known type, see Trübner, *op. cit.*, pl. xiii. A magnificent *yu*, intermediary between the Cernuschi and the Holmes *yu*, has been acquired by the Freer Gallery.

7. *Exhibition of Chinese Art*, London, 1935-36, Cat. no. 246.

5. B. Karlgren, "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes," *BMFEA*, VIII, 1936, pl. xxiv, B 163; Trübner, *op. cit.*, pl. xvii B.

sought them in radical changes of décor, others clung to tradition, but completely altered the style and moved the handle from the front to the side. Both solutions have so much in common that they must be contemporaneous. The same feeling for form is responsible for both.

The first order is best represented by the two *yu* of the Pao Chi set, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Fig. 6; Trübner, pls. III-IX). They are patently the descendants of the vessels in the Holmes and Nezu collections. But what was controlled there is here flamboyant, exulting in a newly won freedom. Everything is overdone: the *yu* rises to an unexpected height, the body is violently compressed and provided with hypertrophied flanges and "horns." This generation took a strange delight in jerky rhythm. The upward movement of the silhouette is unmistakable, but it is not a continuous movement. It starts from, and ends in, unexpected places. Yet the general effect is far from unpleasant. These vessels give the impression of exuberant power, and great splendor. They are the magnificent final outburst of a barbaric art.

How, then, should one classify a couple of *yu* of almost incredibly ragged and jagged appearance? They are shaped like the Pao Chi *yu*, but the caster added four solid beams which end in animal heads and rise at an acute angle from the interstices between the flanges (Fig. 7). No doubt this was done to guard against any evil that might befall the sacred contents. This is, however, beside the point, for that desire must have existed from the beginning. What is decisive is the fact that only at this point of development was such a solution possible.

All these *yu*, including those from Pao Chi, have done with the old décor of *t'ao-t'ieh* and "dragons" which are replaced by birds, large ones on the belly, small ones in the friezes. These birds are against a background of fine spirals, and executed in extraordinarily clear-cut, bold relief. Another new feature is a band of tightly packed vertical ribs around the shoulders and lids. This is a curiously quiet and civilized element in that uproar of forms.

The second order consists of a few *yu* which, while differing in form and décor, are identical in style and expression with the vessels just discussed. They are adorned with a savage looking *t'ao-t'ieh* whose horns jut forth into space; and the handle is moved from the front to the sides (Fig. 8). This is an important innovation: for the first time a *yu* offers a clear and exhaustive view. This new arrangement, however, left no room for the "horns"; they were replaced by short, rather rudimentary flanges. The rest of the flanges are big, though not so flaring as those of the Pao Chi type. The *yu* of both families have their handles fixed with rings. The handles are identical in form, and so are the animal heads at their ends, with the fantastic excrescences on top of the horns. This, and the very deep relief of the body décor, prove that the two groups

were contemporaneous. It must be added that the *t'ao-t'ieh* and the dragons of the second order are no longer put upon a fine net of spirals, but on a smooth background.

What followed appears weak and playful. The broad flanges have disintegrated into rows of hooks. The strong relief of the décor has subsided. If a *t'ao-t'ieh* decorates the walls of a *yu*, it is curiously smooth and tame. It is rendered in two layers of relief, with softened lines. There is no spiral background (Fig. 9). If birds take the place of the monster, they are rendered with fantastic frills of hooks, and so are all the other animals (Fig. 10). The feeling for form that had studded the vessel with rows of thin hooks, turned the birds into these frizzled creatures.⁸

This was the end of ideals and forms cherished by many generations. They had lost their meaning and power. But the creative spirit was not dead; in fact, it found a new solution in this time of apparent disintegration. A wrong emphasis is given if one only points out the withered flanges, the frilled birds, and the smoothed *t'ao-t'ieh*. From among these signs of decay rises victoriously the form of the vessel itself; it has already the beauty and strength that everyone admires in a *yu* of Group II.

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The various forms of the *yu* are the products of various styles; with the proper arrangement of the *yu* the correct sequence of these styles is established. The next task is to find out whether other types of bronzes were subject to like changes in form and décor. If they were, they must be the products of the style that created the corresponding *yu*.

This is the case with a *tsun* in the Art Institute of Chicago, which is very similar to a *yu* in Boston (Fig. 10). It is, however, much more interesting to build a sequence of vessels, similar to that of the *yu*. This can be done with the *chih*, a beaker of medium size. One in the Lundgren Collection (Fig. 11), another in the Freer Gallery (Fig. 12), and a third one in the Wannick Collection (Umehara, pl. 28) suffice to show that the evolution of the *chih* was exactly parallel to the evolution of the *yu*. And the same is true of the evolution of other types. Compare the *yu* 512 of Karlgren's "New Studies" (Fig. 13) with the *ting* 117 (Fig. 14), and the *yu* 517 (*ibid.*, pl. 43) with the *ting* 123 (*ibid.*, pl. 31); or the *kuei* B 42 of Karlgren's "Yin

8. For another *yu* of this type in the Sumitomo Collection, see M. Loehr, "Beiträge zur Chronologie," pl. 4, no. 10. There must have existed some vessels with stronger crenulations but I do not know of any which is above suspicion. An exception is the *yu* (Karlgren, "Yin and Chou," pl. xxxii, B 30) of which only a drawing has been published. Its main décor consists of two elephants. I distrust the lid: it has a foot-ring instead of a knob, and the "horns" at the sides have a form that does not occur outside Group III.

and Chou" (Fig. 15) with the *kuei* 344 of his "New Studies" (Fig. 16). In all these cases form, décor, and relation of form to décor changed in the same manner. There can be no doubt that one style reigned supreme at one time. This is amply borne out by the existence of sets which comprise a great variety of vessels of different types: these *i* (house-like urns), *tsun*, *kuei*, *ting*, and *chih* carry identical décors, all executed in one and the same style.

This permits the use of vessels other than the *yu* to determine which way the evolution went. There is a set of *chih* with lids in the Loo Collection; they are decorated with *t'ao-t'ieh* that are split up into their component parts.⁹ These parts, smooth themselves, seem to drift upon a smooth background. This feature, along with the form of the vessels, places them between the *yu* of Figure 9 and Figure 2, and since the coherent monster such as is seen on the majority of Group I must have preceded the dissolved monster, this is additional proof that Group I was the first, and Group III the last group.

With this knowledge one might try to convert the relative chronology into an absolute chronology. Of course, this can be done only with the help of inscribed bronzes. The most important of them have been treated exhaustively by Karlgren, in his invaluable "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes." Karlgren discriminates between Shang and Chou inscriptions. His criterion of a Shang inscription is the presence of the characters *ya-hsing*, *hsi tzü sun*, and *chü*.¹⁰ Bronzes with Shang inscriptions are listed under the letter A, those with Chou inscriptions under B-C-D-E. The least one might expect from that vast material is that it would help to fix the borderline of Shang and Chou. But even this modest hope is soon shattered, for the student finds himself entangled in a web of contradictions. Karlgren's A 64, a *yu* in the Freer Gallery, is a vessel of Group I, a late specimen in the style and manner of the Pao Chi *yu*, though of inferior quality.¹¹ As an example of what may be better called from now on a *yu* of the severe style (Group II), there is A 226, with a "Shang" inscription.¹² Another *yu* of the same style (Fig. 13) bears a décor in its friezes that closely resembles the décor in the friezes of the *kuei* B 42 (Fig. 15) which is inscribed in a "decidedly very early (Chou) script."¹³ It is disturbing if the evidence from one vessel plainly contradicts that from another vessel of the same style. Something is wrong here;

and since it cannot be the chronology of the bronzes, it must be the criteria of the inscriptions.

In fact only those inscriptions which mention the name of an historical personage are helpful. Bronze vessels with such inscriptions are unfortunately very rare. One of them is the four-legged *ting* in the Loo Collection whose inscription states: "King Ch'eng's honorable *ting*" (Fig. 17).¹⁴ Ch'eng Wang (traditional date: 1115-1079 B.C.) was the son of the first Chou ruler, Wu Wang (traditional date: 1122-1116 B.C.). The *ting* has large hooked flanges at the corners, friezes with long-tailed birds under the rim, and small rectangular fields of vertical ribs in the center of each side; the rest of the sides are filled with rows of spikes. The animal heads that serve as capitals for the column-like legs have horns in the round. All these are characteristic elements of that style which immediately preceded the severe one; it may be called the ornate style. Judging from the deeply cut and widely spaced flanges, the last phase of that style fell in the time of Ch'eng Wang.

This is a piece bearing surprisingly exact information. It is very fortunate when other bronzes with inscriptions refer to persons who can be identified. High amongst these rank the Nieh Ling vessels. The set consists of an *i* in the Freer Gallery, a *tsun* that is, or was, in the National Research Institute, Nanking, and a *kuei* in the David Weill Collection, Paris.¹⁵ The name Nieh Ling occurs in the inscriptions of all four vessels. The *i* and the *tsun* carry identical records. They mention not only Nieh Ling, but also "Ming-pao, son of Chou Kung." This Chou Kung is Tan, the Duke of Chou, a younger brother of Wu Wang who acted as regent for his infant nephew Ch'eng Wang for seven years. The Ming-pao, or Duke of Ming, as he is also called in the inscription, was therefore a cousin of Ch'eng, and of his generation. It would be quite natural to identify the king of the inscription with Ch'eng; and this was in fact done by a number of Chinese scholars, including Kuo Mo-jo. But there occurs also the term *K'ang kung*, "K'ang's temple," that was interpreted by others as meaning "K'ang Wang's temple," i.e., the temple erected to the spirits of K'ang Wang, the son of Ch'eng (traditional date: 1078-1053 B.C.). This, of course, would imply that the vessels were not cast earlier than the reign of K'ang Wang's successor, Chao Wang (traditional date: 1052-1002 B.C.).

I and *tsun* are done in the same style; they have serrated flanges, and display a *t'ao-t'ieh* embellished with hooked frills, and files of short-tailed birds (Fig. 18). They are works of the ornate style, and of extraordinary

9. "New Studies," pl. XXIII, 887. James M. Menzies, *Catalogue of Exhibition of Ancient Chinese Ritual Bronzes* loaned by C. T. Loo, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1940, pl. XIX, no. 23.

10. "Yin and Chou," pp. 20 ff.

11. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI. The handle is certainly new.

12. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV.

13. The *yu* A 229 (*ibid.*, pl. XXX) is also credited with a Shang inscription, and so is the tall *yu* A 223 (*ibid.*) whose décor seems to be identical with that of the *kuei* B 42, and very close to that of *kuei* E 18 (*ibid.*, pl. XXXI), both of Chou times.

14. Menzies, *op. cit.*, no. 30.

15. Karlgren, "Yin and Chou," pp. 33 ff., B 22-25. A good illustration of the *tsun* in Nanking is in L. Davidson's "Toward a Grouping of Early Chinese Bronzes," *Parnassus*, April, 1937, fig. 6.

quality. If one accepts the interpretation of *K'ang kung* as K'ang Wang's temple, one must infer that this style was still practiced in the time of Chao Wang. This is a possibility; Ch'êng Wang's *ting* might have been cast, but in the very last years of his life, and Wu Ch'i-ch'ang believes that the inscriptions of the Ming Kung bronzes refer to the year 1043 B.C.¹⁶

There is, of course, another way to find out how long the ornate style lasted, by looking for bronzes in the severe style with datable inscriptions. The only valuable one I know is the *kuei* B 9 of which unfortunately only a drawing is available.¹⁷ But the characteristics of the severe style are such that even a drawing will show them sufficiently. B 9 resembles the *kuei* B 42 (Fig. 15); it has a well-shaped undecorated body, with two friezes around the foot and under the mouth. The ornament of these friezes consists of three rows of square spirals, very much like those of the *yu* 512 (Fig. 13). At any rate, there is no doubt that the *kuei* is a work of the severe style. Its inscription mentions Chou Kung, and a Ch'in who is generally assumed to be his son Po Ch'in. It must be dated in Ch'êng Wang's time.

Two vessels in two successive styles and datable in one reign are not necessarily a contradiction: they merely suggest that the change took place during that period. But when works of the earlier style are dated in a much later time, no such explanation is possible. One cannot maintain that the struggle between the old and the new dragged out so long when bronzes like the Ming Kung set are of such high quality. There are many cases in the history of Chinese bronzes when an old style lingered on, but then its examples show every sign of a progressive disintegration of the style; they are no longer of a piece. The dates ascribed to the *kuei* B 9 and to the Ming Kung vessels are incompatible.

It will be remembered that the stumbling block for an earlier dating of the Ming Kung bronzes was the expression "K'ang's temple" in the inscription, but this is only if it referred to K'ang Wang, son and successor of Ch'êng Wang. There lived, however, another K'ang, a famous and important figure in the consolidation of Chou power.¹⁸ He was a younger brother of Wu Wang, and like Chou Kung a paternal uncle to Ch'êng Wang. When Wu died, the son of the last Shang ruler, who had been left in possession of the old Shang territory under the supervision of two other brothers of Wu's, revolted with them. After he was defeated, his land was made the state of Wei, and enfeoffed to K'ang. His was perhaps the most dangerous post,

since the former Shang dominion was a hotbed of impending trouble and unrest. When finally Ch'êng took over, he must have known that he could do so only because of the loyalty of Chou Kung and K'ang. Since the Ming Kung bronzes correspond in style to Ch'êng Wang's *ting*, since Ming Kung and Ch'êng Wang belonged to the same generation, and since the *kuei* B 9 flatly excludes a later date of the Ming Kung vessels, I propose to refer the *K'ang kung* not to the temple of K'ang Wang, but to that of K'ang, the brother of Chou Kung and uncle of Ch'êng.

There remains the problem of the "Shang" inscriptions on *yu* of the severe style. Creel doubted at once the validity of the criteria that were supposed to determine their Shang date.¹⁹ He was certainly right.



It looks as if the change from the ornate to the severe style occurred under Ch'êng Wang. It was a radical, one may even say a revolutionary, change. What followed was of a different nature. It was the slow and almost imperceptible growth of forms and ideas that the severe style had introduced. It is only toward the end, when the taut and tense form had become limp and languid, and the parts of a vessel merge more readily than before into a whole, that the casters returned to a décor of large figures to cover the entire vessel. It is fortunate that this phase, at least, can be dated. A rather late *yu* in the Sumitomo Collection (Karl-gren B 35) bears an inscription that mentions a Tung-kung and a Hsiao (Fig. 19).²⁰ These two persons are mentioned again in an inscription of a *ting* that records the visit of the king, in his first year, to the temple of Mu Wang.²¹ This king can, of course, only be a successor of Mu (traditional date: 1001-947 B.C.). Karl-gren takes him to be his immediate successor, Kung Wang (traditional date: 946-935 B.C.), and asserts that the other vessels of this group, the *yu* included, are a little older and date from the reign of Mu Wang, without giving any reasons. On the other hand, Karl-gren lets the totally different Middle Chou style begin under Kung Wang, though he does not illustrate a single vessel to prove it. In fact, the inscription of the *ting* gives but a *terminus post quem*, and this holds also for the *yu*. I do think, however, that they date from the tenth century, since the ninth century saw the new style fully developed. The inscription of the *yu* occurs again on a *chih* B 36 (Fig. 20); the two vessels belonged, therefore, to a set. This *chih* is covered with large birds

16. *Yen-ching hsüe pao* 9.

17. Karl-gren, *op. cit.*, p. 31, pl. xxxi.

18. His story is tersely told in the inscription of the Malcolm *kuei*; W. P. Yetts, "An Early Chinese Bronze," *Burlington Magazine*, LXX, 1937, pp. 168 ff.

19. H. G. Creel, "Notes on Professor Karl-gren's System for Dating Chinese Bronzes," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1936.

20. "Yin and Chou," B 35; 西周 穆王, *Liang Chou chin wen tz'u ta hsi t'u lu*, fig. 175, inscription 86.

21. "Yin and Chou," B 40.



FIG. 13. *Yu*, Karlgren 512

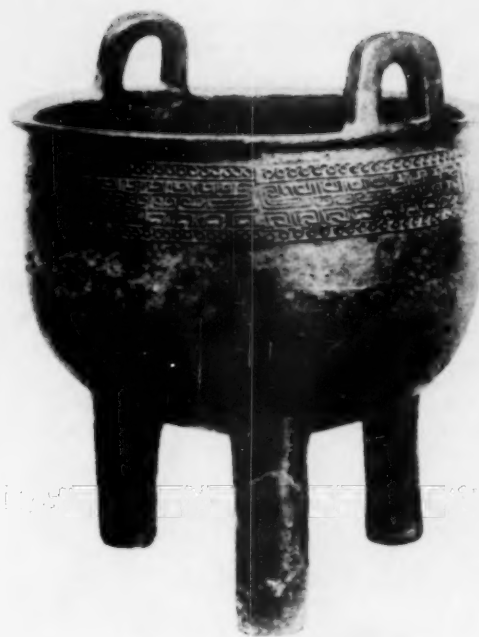


FIG. 14. *Ting*, Karlgren 117



FIG. 15. *Kuei*, Karlgren B42



FIG. 16. *Kuei*, Karlgren 344



FIG. 17. Four-legged *Ting*, Loo Collection

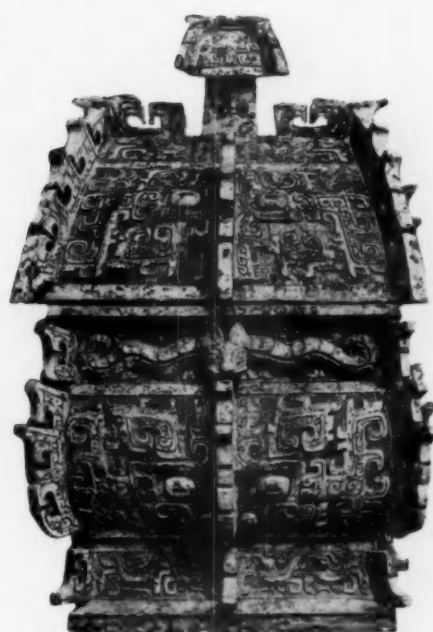


FIG. 18. *I*, Freer Gallery



FIG. 19. *Yu*, Sumitomo Collection, Ōsaka



FIG. 20. *Chih*, Karlgren, B36



FIG. 21. *Kuei*, Boston Museum



FIG. 22. *Kuei*, Freer Gallery



FIG. 23. *Kuei*, Malcolm Collection, London



FIG. 24. *Kuei*, Freer Gallery

just as they appear on what are undoubtedly the last *yu* (Fig. 5); the only difference is that the *yu* have usually long-tailed birds in the friezes, whereas here dragons in the shape of a lying S with detached tails take their place. No importance can be attached to this, because a *yu* with a domed lid has the same décor as the *chih*.²² At any rate Group III of the *yu* came to a close in the second half of the tenth century according to the traditional reckoning, and with it went the languid style.

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Thus far, the flowering and decline of the ornate and the birth of the severe style can be dated to the reign of Ch'êng Wang. There exists another vessel that also belongs to this particular period, the Hsien Hou *li-ting*. Its inscription mentions Ch'êng Wang by name, and speaks of a gift of his to the Marquis of Hsien.²³ The three bulbous parts of the body show upon a background of spirals a coherent *t'ao-t'ieh* with ears and well-developed eyebrows, in normal relief. It is somewhat difficult to place this bronze properly, for the *li-ting* was practically never provided with flanges; only the latest specimens have them, and then in a very rudimentary form, and always together with a disintegrated *t'ao-t'ieh*. It seems safe to attribute the Hsien Hou *li-ting* to the stylistic phase that immediately preceded the ornate style.

It is not possible to convert the relative chronology of the bronzes previous to the rise of the ornate style into an absolute chronology, not because inscribed vessels are wanting, but because the inscriptions do not yield useful information. One has to be content with the sequence of styles. The *yu* do not lead back beyond a time when a style ruled that is characterized by the use of flanges, by a plastic décor of fantastic animals among which the *t'ao-t'ieh* takes the most prominent place, and by the even spread of that décor over the whole vessel. This is plainly not the beginning. To find that, the same method may be used again, the tracing of a certain type. This can be done with greater assurance since we have established the sequence of styles from the time when the *yu* first appeared on the stage to the second half, or the end of the tenth century. The type chosen must, of course, be one of greater antiquity than the *yu*. Such a vessel is the *kuei*, a tureen with two handles. I propose to treat it in inverted order; and though it is really superfluous, I shall start with a few *kuei* of late date to demonstrate again the unity of style at a given time.

The first piece is a *kuei* in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Fig. 21). It is stout and round of body with a limp and soft contour. The only décor is found in two

narrow friezes around neck and lid which are filled with dragons in the shape of a lying S. Form and décor suggest a late date, and so do the three little stilts beneath the foot. They lift the vessel from the ground, and are a common enough feature in the Middle Chou period. Another feature indicating a late date is the use of the rather insignificant handles with the loose rings. This vessel is one of many showing the transition from the mature Early Chou to the Middle Chou style.

Keeping closer to the traditional type of the *kuei* is a bronze in the Freer Gallery (Fig. 22). It has a décor of large birds on the belly, and of small de-tailed birds in the friezes around the neck and foot. The foot shows slight traces of entasis, but so did the *chih* B 36 (Fig. 20) with which it is more or less contemporaneous. It is not necessary to say anything about the next two vessels (Figs. 15, 16). In the *kuei* B 42 we have a work of the severe style. Looking back, one can observe a change from limpness to tightness of form; it is the same change that affected the *yu*, the *ting*, the *chih* in those times. Yet all these *kuei* have one thing in common: the animal heads topping their handles. Seen from the side, they look like hares' heads with short horns that emerge from around the eyes, and are pressed down. Their long curves, accompanied by others suggesting eyebrows, are very characteristic; so are the small bulging eyes and the spirals on the handles. A hook hanging down from the handle at some distance from the body is another typical feature.

Next in line comes the famous *kuei* in the Malcolm Collection that was discussed in masterly fashion by Yetts.²⁴ Its inscription records that the Marquis K'ang was charged by the king to transform the former Shang territory into the state of Wei. As said above, K'ang was the brother of Chou Kung, and the event happened in the first years of Ch'êng Wang's reign. This *kuei* has a well rounded body on a tall foot (Fig. 23). The two friezes around neck and foot are filled with whorls alternating with what looks like an eye surrounded by four two-pronged lobes. The belly is completely covered with closely packed vertical ribs. The handles shoot out so vigorously that they appear squarish. The animal heads sit on the bend of the horizontal and vertical part. They have broad upright horns and upturned snouts that look pointed when seen from the side. The fluent lines are gone from the faces of these animals; each element stands out clearly and sharply. Under the heads, the handles carry the plastic representation of birds' wings. The former hooks are much larger and rectangular, and display the tail and foot of a bird on either side. This *kuei* stands on the threshold between the ornate and the severe styles. It is a curious and interesting mixture of old elements and new ideals. The intention to show the clear

22. Kuo Mo-jo, *op. cit.*, fig. 174.

23. *Catalogue London Exhibition 1935-36*, no. 43. This vessel is Karlgren's B 12; see also Kuo Mo-jo, *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

24. Yetts, *loc. cit.*

structure of the body is new, and so is the idea of covering the belly evenly with ribs which do not distract the eye or obscure the beauty of its form. The ribs themselves are most characteristic of the ornate style, but here they were used for a new purpose. The idea of leaving the body bare had not yet occurred to the caster. The handles and the stilted foot-ring are plainly old-fashioned. How great an advance toward the severe style was made becomes evident when this *kuei* is compared with one that was made at the height of the ornate style (Fig. 24). It is a piece in the Freer Gallery, and the product of the same spirit that created the *yu* with jutting beams (Fig. 7).²⁵ The ribs, spikes, and serrated flanges are the same as on Ch'êng Wang's *ting* (Fig. 17) with the difference that there these elements were handled with taste and restraint. Next in order comes one of the most magnificent bronzes which have left China, a *kuei* with its socle in the Freer Gallery (Fig. 25). The well developed flanges that are rounded off where they emerge from the belly are similar to those on the Pao Chi *yu*. The belly itself shows a *t'ao-t'ieh* with its body on either side; the socle repeats only the head of this animal, which is flanked in both cases by a standing bird. The *t'ao-t'ieh* is rendered in two layers of relief, and another interesting phenomenon is the fringing of the bodies with small hooks, while the face — or mask — is rendered with a simple outline. The resemblance to the *t'ao-t'ieh* on the Ming Kung vessels is especially important, since the Freer *kuei*'s décor is obviously a little older than theirs. This *kuei*, formerly in the Oeder Collection, was listed by Karlgren as E 40, that is, as having a Chou inscription.²⁶ The strange combination of a savage animal head on the body of a bird, also observed on the Malcolm *kuei*, here finds its explanation: the same head hangs threateningly over a complete bird that holds a tiny human head between its claws. This representation makes more sense, but it was evidently not common, for there exist a few *kuei* both older and younger which nevertheless show the animal head on the bird's body, as, for example, a *kuei* in the Art Institute of Chicago that is remarkable for its grotesque theriomorphous décor on body and socle, its old-fashioned inarticulate base and its serrated flanges. The latter features and the very bold relief of the body décor place this *kuei* among the later works of the ornate style (Fig. 26). The same handle, with the horns of the animal head turned back, occurs on another *kuei* in the same museum (Fig. 27). This vessel is much older than any I have taken up. Its thin and low flanges and the formulation of the *t'ao-t'ieh* bring it close to the oldest *yu*. It seems as though this were the ordinary handle from this time onward to the end of the ornate style, and

that the more impressive formulations, with upright horns, were exceptions.

As I just said, this *kuei* must be roughly contemporaneous with the oldest *yu* of Group 1. For every *kuei* another vessel of a different class, but of the same style, can be found; and the row reaches from this time to the beginning of the Middle Chou period. There is, however, one more group of *kuei* that has no counterpart among the bronzes treated so far. They differ also from all the other *kuei* in form and décor. One such vessel is in the Loo Collection (Fig. 28). The most striking feature is the absence of any relief though the vessel is decorated all over. But with the sole exception of the eyes of the various animals, décor and background are flush. In other words, the design is sunk into the bronze, and not raised in relief. These sunken lines are sometimes filled with a black material, more rarely with a red pigment. Both devices bring out the pattern very clearly. This procedure is predominantly graphic, and is in striking contrast with the plastic treatment hitherto encountered. The flanges are very slight. The foot is well shaped, more "modern" certainly than the plain foot of the Chicago *kuei* (Fig. 27). Apart from the graphic rendering, the handles differ also from former examples. First, there is no hook, or rectangular projection, hanging down from them. Secondly, the animal heads are placed at a greater distance from the rim; their horns are differently arranged, and do not touch the vessel. The stems of the handles are covered with files of a scale-like pattern. The same type of handle is attached to another *kuei* that is also decorated in the graphic manner (Fig. 29). As with all these vessels, the main motive of the décor is the *t'ao-t'ieh*; here it differs in shape and style from the former ones. It is hard to make out since both design and background are treated alike. The stems of the handles carry the graphic representation of a complete bird on either side. Here is the original idea, and the original form from which the later *kuei* derived their inspiration. The foot of this vessel has the form of a truncated cone.

The two *kuei* just discussed belong to a fairly large group. Their most striking characteristics are, as I pointed out, the peculiar treatment of the handles, and the complete absence of relief. The overwhelming rôle assigned to the *t'ao-t'ieh* as the main motive of an all-over décor is something shared with bronzes of other styles, but not with bronzes cast after the reign of Ch'êng Wang. The two traits just mentioned leave, in fact, only one possible place for this group. It is prior to those vessels with large plastic *t'ao-t'ieh*.

The *kuei* (Fig. 29) must be among the earliest vessels of this type. But there are other bronzes that are also called *kuei*. They are simply tureens without handles and represent the primary type. This was not discarded when, by adding handles, the other type was created. However, by

25. I do not know why these bronzes have been declared works of the fifth century B.C.; they undoubtedly date from Ch'êng Wang's time.

26. "Yin and Chou," pl. XII, E 40.



FIG. 25. *Kuei*, Freer Gallery



FIG. 26. *Kuei*, Chicago Art Institute



FIG. 27. *Kuei*, Chicago Art Institute



FIG. 28. *Kuei*, Loo Collection



FIG. 29. *Kuei*, Karlgren 374



FIG. 30. *Kuei* without Handles, Chinese Government



FIG. 31. Cauldron, Metropolitan Museum



FIG. 32. P'ou, Louvre Museum



FIG. 33. Tsun, Loo Collection



FIG. 34. Chia, Loo Collection



FIG. 35. P'ou, Ton-Ying Collection, New York



FIG. 36. P'ou, Chinese Government

changing to the *kuei* without handles, it is possible to go further back. One such vessel was sent to the London Exhibition of 1935-36 by the Chinese Government (Fig. 30). It is evident that this vessel is very closely related in style and décor to the last *kuei* with handles. This primary *kuei* has four *t'ao-t'ieh*; younger vessels of this type run parallel with the *kuei* with handles, and have this number reduced to two. The more primitive structure, with sharp breaks of direction between the several parts, should also be noted. The stylistic characteristics of this *kuei* are also those of numerous other vessels, primarily of the types *p'ou*, *lei*, and *chia*.

It is not out of place at this point to make a rapid survey of the various shapes the *t'ao-t'ieh* had assumed. Manifold as they were, they had one trait in common: all these representations stopped short at the upper lip. The mouth is never given in its entirety. The ridge in the center is drawn down, and two small curls at the bottom are supposed to indicate the nose. The line that swings out on either side represents the upper lip. This is the basic form that received, however, a very different treatment at different times. Even more important, and easier to identify, are the changes that affected the shape of the horns. On the *kuei* without handles, the nose is but vaguely indicated; the two hooks for the lip are well developed; the horns are rather stout at the beginning, but taper quickly; they are bent in the manner of a squarish spiral, the ends being turned inward. The same type of *t'ao-t'ieh* was used on the *kuei* with handles; the only difference is that the lines run more smoothly (Fig. 29). The moment the décor is more clearly set off from the background, the *t'ao-t'ieh* is altered again (Fig. 28). The nose is now clearly recognizable; behind the eyes appear two pointed ears; and the horns spread outward, twice broken at right angles. Shortly afterward, the horns get their final form, that of a C resting on its open side. They may be rendered in a roundish or an angular way; the basic form remains the same. As always, and everywhere, the new forms do not appear all of a sudden, nor do they completely suppress the older ones; and it often happens that the walls of one and the same vessel are adorned with two successive types of *t'ao-t'ieh*. This applies, of course, to works of the intermediary phase; the new forms end by ruling supreme.

All these changes took place before the bronze casters departed from their "graphic" technique. When they began to render the décor plastically, that is, in relief, the *t'ao-t'ieh* in vogue was that with C-shaped horns (Fig. 27). Very soon a tendency toward stronger relief made itself felt: the flanges got larger, and certain parts of the *t'ao-t'ieh*, such as ears, the ends of the horns, and the point where the jaws are hinged to the face, jutted out a little more (Fig. 1). At this time, a new element was introduced: eyebrows. It took some time before they were gen-

erally accepted. It was only then that the mouth was sometimes drawn in an outward curve, and two fangs were inserted (Fig. 25). By this time the artists began to leave out the flange that cut a *t'ao-t'ieh* in two. This was not an iron-clad rule, but just another manner of representing a *t'ao-t'ieh* (Fig. 8). The exceedingly high relief was reduced in the final stage, though two layers at least were retained. It was then that the frilled *t'ao-t'ieh* was succeeded by one that looks curiously nude because all the hooks and spirals in and around it have disappeared (Fig. 9).

This short excursus was necessary, for there exists another form of the *t'ao-t'ieh* that has not yet been encountered. To judge by the most valuable criterion, the shape of the horns, it belongs to the type met with on the *kuei* without handles. Add to this that all the vessels that carry it have their décor executed in the "graphic" technique, and it follows that here is a group of bronzes older than anything discussed as yet.

What differentiates this *t'ao-t'ieh* from its successors is the representation of the mouth in its entirety. Upper and lower lips are rendered by two long horizontal lines, and the row of teeth by small hooks (Fig. 31). Another important feature — the plastic ridge in the center — does not reach down to where the representation ends, but stops much before this. It is fascinating to trace the gradual transformation of this very primitive type to the final form (Figs. 32-34).

Two more interesting facts must be pointed out. One is that all these vessels, unless they stand on free legs, rest on a truncated cone. This is an eminently "metallic" form, a fact which accounts for its surprisingly long life. Such forms die hard, and this particular solution occasionally cropped up even when the more modern, well articulated foot had been widely accepted. The other thing to note is that the flanges did not develop from the small ridges that divide a *t'ao-t'ieh*; this is nicely proven by the *tsun* (Fig. 33). They owe their existence to a growing demand for a clear structure. The two or more identically shaped fields which carried the decoration were separated from each other by their insertion. And it is easy to see that the central ridge of a *t'ao-t'ieh* was supplanted by a flange, once that ridge was carried down to the lower edge of a field (Fig. 34).

This is but one of numerous cases when old forms were carried on for some time. It is a phenomenon that occurs again and again and everywhere in the history of art. Evolution seldom runs along a straight line; old forms linger, and mingle with new ones that finally alter the picture completely. As I have repeatedly said, it is the task of the art historian to disentangle this complex pattern by distinguishing the old from the new, and so point out their respective rôles. Thus, the *t'ao-t'ieh* with inward curled horns — a form, it will be remembered, that once held the

field unchallenged — recurs at a time when the plastic rendering had supplanted the graphic one, and the *t'ao-t'ieh* with ears and eyebrows and C-shaped horns reigned supreme. Yet, in such cases there is always enough evidence to put a vessel in its proper place. It may be some element lacking in the original formulation, such as eyebrows; or a representation in two or three layers of relief; or a fluid and flexible outline, vastly different from the rigid and angular one of an earlier work. In the last case one finds as a result of the change a sweeping rhythm instead of a jerky one. The old foot in the shape of a truncated cone lived for a surprisingly long period after the newer, more elaborate and better solution, with a ring and entasis of the contracted part, was found. The same holds for some ancient types, such as the *p'ou* and some carinated vases. They took part in the general development, but rather reluctantly, and managed to appear much older than contemporary bronzes with shorter pedigree. No doubt there lived many old-fashioned artists and patrons who clung tenaciously to types cherished by their forefathers; but even they did not remain untouched by current ideals, and added some new elements to their antiquated stock. These look quite incongruous and out of place, yet they permit us to date a vessel which has them.

To illustrate this point, I show a *p'ou* in the Tong-ying Collection (Fig. 35). It is clearly the descendant of a *p'ou* like the one reproduced in Figure 36. Style, motives, and technique place this vessel between the *p'ou* in Figure 32 and the *kuei* without handles, Figure 30. It plainly belongs to the earliest group of bronzes with an all-over animal décor. The Tong-ying *p'ou* has retained the basic shape of the type unaltered. It is of no import that there are four plastic rams' heads on the shoulder instead of three. But the character of these heads is significant: the horns are twisted and jut forward, and a short serrated flange is inserted between them. Moreover, such hooked flanges divide the vessel into four sections, and the flanges on the shoulder end in the protoma of long-necked birds that

project boldly into the air. Each of the four fields of the belly carries a plastic *t'ao-t'ieh* that has no central flange, not even a ridge. Since there exist enough *p'ou* to show that this type had taken part in the common change of form and technique, it must be inferred that this vessel was cast at a time when a central flange was considered disturbing.²⁷ This was the case shortly before the advent of the severe style, and hooked flanges, protruding horns and jutting birds bear out this dating. Though all the characteristics of the late ornate style are present, they are used in a rather timid manner.

The *t'ao-t'ieh* of the Tong-ying *p'ou* is no longer conceived as a coherent form. The spiral background has infiltrated between its constituent parts: the eyes, the horns, the central shield, the mouth and the bodies. A *t'ao-t'ieh* thus rendered has been called a dissolved *t'ao-t'ieh*. A good many bronzes with dissolved *t'ao-t'ieh* are known, and there is a great variety of such monsters. Most of them have large hooked eyebrows, a distinctly late form. In other examples the several parts are smooth, without any interior lines, and are on a smooth background. They may have a small central ridge, or a flange, or neither, and the horns may have the form of a recumbent C or of a recumbent S.²⁸ The handling of this motive by the artists varies from playful wittiness to plain misunderstanding. Regardless of how it was done, it is certain that the respect and reverence in which the *t'ao-t'ieh* was held by many generations are gone. The striking recurrence of old types on bronzes with dissolved *t'ao-t'ieh* suggests a pathetic effort to revive the spirit of what must have been thought of as a great and glorious age. It was a futile enterprise. The ideas which the *t'ao-t'ieh* stood for were dead. The breaking-up of the *t'ao-t'ieh* means the breaking-up of the old faith.

27. Cf. Karlgren, "New Studies," pl. xiv, no. 466, for a *p'ou* with flanges and a plastic *t'ao-t'ieh* of the type with C-shaped horns whose tips are turned up. This *p'ou* is roughly contemporary with the Holmes *yu* (Fig. 1).

28. See note 8.

NOTES

TITIAN AS A LETTER WRITER

E. TIETZE-CONRAT

The information that Pietro Aretino and Giovanni Maria Verdizotti drew up official letters for Titian does not originate earlier than in Ridolfi,¹ who wrote almost a hundred years after Aretino's death and fifty after Verdizotti's. Vasari does not mention the fact, yet he was Aretino's fellow countryman and during his stay in Venice in 1566 was introduced to Verdizotti by Titian himself.² Nevertheless the report seems trustworthy, since it implies neither advantage nor disadvantage to anybody. So far as Aretino is concerned, it is confirmed by a comparison of Titian's official correspondence from 1527 to 1556, the years of his close connection with Aretino, with hundreds of his friend's letters.

As an instance we may choose the letter of June 22, 1527³ — probably the first Aretino wrote for Titian — which accompanied the portraits of Aretino and Girolamo Adorno to Federigo Gonzaga. It begins: "Sapendo quanto Vostra Eccellenza ami la pittura e quanto la esalti," thus emphasizing Federigo's devotion to art which would justify such a present. But the parenthesis which follows, "come si pò vedere nei meriti di Messer Julio Romano," inserted with apparent, though nonetheless deliberate, casualness, as a specific instance of Federigo's art patronage, is as much as to say that Titian would not, of course, make a play for it. His only intention is to please the distinguished art lover by his presents. One of them is the portrait of Pietro Aretino who has just settled in Venice. The letter calls him "a second Paul to preach Federigo's glory." The comparison with Paul tends both to exalt and to abase Pietro Aretino; it makes him an Apostle, to be sure, but puts him below the man whom Titian extols. Titian presents the portrait of Aretino because he knows that Federigo loves such a prominent servant for his unique virtues ("tanto Servitore per tante sue virtù").

Shorter and less emphatic is the passage referring to Adorno, the brilliant and prematurely deceased Genoese nobleman who by a stroke of the sword had made his brother Doge of their city, and through close connection with the Emperor was a dreaded and much coveted person among the little North Italian courts. The phrase, "il quale adorava il Marchese di Mantova," seeks to justify the present which, Titian says, might not otherwise have been considered worthy of the Prince or of Titian's powers as a painter.

The first sentence of a letter⁴ written six weeks later by Aretino in his own name to the same Federigo begins: "Perchè io so che Vostra Eccellenza vuole che quegli, ai quali ella dona, la ringratiano con il non ringratiarla . . ."; it acknowledges receipt of the 50 scudi and gold doublet sent him by the Marchese. The cadence of the two letters is identical; Aretino's letter, however, is a little less pompous than Titian's, since the coveted remuneration has been received. The contrast of "ringratiare" with "non ringratiare" is typical of Aretino's well garnished style and corresponds to the "tanto Servitore per tante sue virtù" in the earlier letter. Another example of such a contrast occurs in

Aretino's letter to Titian of November 9, 1537:⁵ ". . . mandare l'immagine de la Reina del Cielo a l'Imperatrice della terra. . . ." A queen, he implies, is a little less than an empress, but heaven is far superior to earth. This passage also corresponds to the one quoted above in which Aretino is elevated to the rank of an Apostle, but only to serve a still greater one, Federigo.

It is typical of Aretino's letters that they introduce, apparently by chance, the names of his famous friends. These people constitute an intelligentsia, contact with whom flatters his addressees; they are at the same time a closed circle which one had better beware of. The more illustrious Titian grows, the more frequently he appears in Aretino's letters. Sometimes he shares some delicacies for which Aretino expresses thanks. Sometimes he joins in sending compliments. In many letters he is mentioned simply as the ideal painter whose achievements are compared with the activities of some writer or historian as, for instance, in the letter to Aldo Manucci in which Sperone Speroni's dialogues are recommended for publication: "Certo che chi vede le cose sue conosce come disegna Michelagnolo e come colorisce Tiziano, avenga che elleno son' composte di vita e di splendore. . . ."⁶

In Titian's letter to Federigo discussed above, among the important persons mentioned is Giulio Romano who, as we have seen, has only a parenthetical connection with the contents of the letter. I pointed out, however, that the mention of Giulio is not so casual as would at first appear. To serve some subtle intention by a slight hint is a part of the skill of the literary stylist. Titian, like any other artist, would certainly have refrained from naming in a letter to a hoped-for patron a colleague who was not his teacher nor pupil, but solely a rival. Still more would he have refrained from praising him, even in the secret hope of obtaining some advantage for himself.

Another letter worth analyzing is the one to Prince Philip of Spain.⁷ Titian begins by acknowledging receipt of a present "più conforme alla grandezza Vostra che a' piccioli meriti miei." To this contrast he presently adds another: ". . . essendochè a un povero debitore è gran ricchezza. . . ." In what way will Titian express his gratitude? Of course, by sending a painting: ". . . vorrei poter ritrar l'immagine del mio cuore, già gran tempo consacrato all' Altezza Vostra, perchè Ella mirasse nella più perfetta parte di esso scolpita l'immagine del valor suo." Since such a painting is impossible, Titian will send a Venus and Adonis as a companion to the Danaë which Philip already owns. Only here begins the essential part of the letter, the part which Titian perhaps contributed himself. But such elaborate rhetoric, such piling up of figurative language as "to paint one's heart in order that the patron may discover his own image carved therein, yea, not his own image, but that of his virtues" — this is unimaginable for Titian. It is the style of a professional man of letters, and indeed of one who is a forerunner of the Baroque.

We might continue to analyze in full detail many more of Titian's letters. However, a simpler and more instructive method of tracing Aretino's style therein is to read them aloud

5. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 180 ff.

6. Letter of July, 1542 (*ibid.*, II, p. 291). See also the letter to Valdaura (*ibid.*, I, p. 253v). This praise of Titian is reflected in letters written to Aretino by his friends whose adjustment of their style to his was emphasized as early as T. Landoni's edition of the letters to Aretino (*Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, Venice, 1873). Lo Strozzi, for instance, introduces a horse-breaker as being a master in his art, just as Titian is in painting (*Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, ed. Marcolini, Venice, 1551, p. 390; ed. Landoni, II, pp. 308 ff.).

7. Published by Stefano Ticozzi, *Vite dei pittori Vecelli di Cadore*, Milan, 1817, pp. 311 ff.

1. Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell' arte*, ed. Hadeln, Berlin, 1914, I, p. 208.

2. G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Milanese, Florence, 1878-1885, VII, p. 460.

3. W. Braghirolli, "Tiziano alla corte dei Gonzaga di Mantova," *Atti e memorie dell' Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova*, 1881, p. 63.

4. *Lettere di Pietro Aretino*, Paris, 1608-9, I, p. 13v.

and slowly, alternating with a few to which Aretino signed his own name. We find in all an identical intonation and phraseology.

A typical letter which Aretino wrote for Titian is the one of December 20, 1534,⁸ to the Chamberlain of Cardinal Ipolito de' Medici. It begins: "L'amor che mi portate, vi fa dir quell' error che è in me"; elaborates: "... ma la reverenzia grande che io gli porto, mi fa temer discrivergli"; and concludes: "... ma perchè la Signoria Vostra mi fa animo, vi priego che quello amor che mi portate. . . ." The stylistic composition is so predominantly important that the contents hardly matter at all. Analogous phrases introduce Aretino's own letters, for instance: "La memoria, che io con molto affetto tengo di voi, spirito preclaro";⁹ or: "La gelosia del honor di voi, che gli sete padrone, e la compassione del patir di me, che gli son padre. . . ."¹⁰

Such a comparative reading aloud, where one concentrates on the rhythm and sound of the passages, convinces one of Aretino's authorship of many of Titian's letters, as an analysis of the mere content, obviously contributed by Titian himself, would not; besides, Aretino withheld from these letters the typical wit of his personal letters. In those written for Titian his wit appears only in the diluted form of rather empty word-play. Titian may not have cared for the brilliance which Aretino reserved for his personal letters. Aretino's wit bridges the immense gap between the princes to whom he writes and himself. What counts is less his rôle of "Princes' Scourge" than his faculty of creating by his wit an air of delightful familiarity and understanding with his highborn correspondents, and thus of abolishing the air of profound and sycophantic respect with which they were wont to be addressed. This sort of independence which Aretino gained for the literary man and Michelangelo strove for so ardently is something to which Titian never aspired. Titian was not disposed to level the summits on which princes dwell, but preferred to acknowledge the privileges of the nobility in order that through their patronage he might increase the prestige of his art. And as long as he rendered unto Caesar what was Caesar's he felt himself justified in not yielding an inch in his own realm of painter. In the letters which he wrote himself this attitude is very clearly defined.

But where do we find such letters? First of all they should be sought among those written when Titian was away from Venice and thus without the help of his "ghost writer." Even among these are some which arouse suspicion, to wit, those from Titian to Pietro Aretino himself which are published in the Marcolini edition of letters written to Aretino.¹¹ Apostolo Zeno was the first to question the authenticity of the letters collected in this edition of 1551;¹² Gian Maria Mazzucchelli endeavored to substantiate these suspicions, citing a number of passages which he tried to prove were written by Aretino himself.¹³ Landoni, however, in his edition of these letters sought to exculpate Aretino.¹⁴ He remarked, for instance, that the striking conformity of such passages with the epistolary style of the addressee is the result of an effort of these letter writers to imitate Aretino's style, and thus subtly to flatter him. I do not wish to discuss this problem here and touch upon it only to indicate the uncertain authorship of the whole material.¹⁵ Only two of Titian's letters to Aretino are included in the Marcolini and Landoni collections, one of May 31, 1536,¹⁶ from Asti, and the

other of November 11, 1550,¹⁷ from Augsburg. It is perhaps more than mere coincidence that both were written when Titian was close to the Emperor, a fact in itself flattering to Aretino. The letter from Asti is almost void of literary conventions; it was written in a hurry and, perhaps intentionally, reflects the turmoil in which the writer is caught. Meeting so many prospective patrons of himself and his friend, Titian is trying to make as many contacts as possible and can only drop a line to assure Aretino that he is on his toes. He ends with a Spanish formula: "Bas las manos a Vuestra Merced e al signor Alvise Anichin," which recalls Albrecht Dürer's habit of interspersing his German with a few Italian words when writing from Venice to his friend Pirckheimer.

A closer adaptation of Aretino's style is to be found in the second letter, and especially in Titian's report of his efforts to interest the Court in Aretino. Yet the general manner of the letter is not Aretino's. The scene is described by Titian more accurately and dramatically than we should expect of Aretino. In amazingly few words we are told that the Emperor, after examining the paintings Titian has brought with him, presently inquires after Aretino and asks Titian whether he has a letter from him. Titian answers in the affirmative and presents it. The Emperor reads it first to himself and then aloud so that the others who are present may hear it. We see the stage filling: Prince Philip, the Duke of Alba, Luigi d'Avila, the courtiers. There follows the passage: "ma perchè in detta lettera ero nominato, mi disse ciò che volevo da lui." Whereupon Titian begins with a speech which he had probably prepared jointly with Aretino and which he therefore cuts short with an etcetera since Aretino knows perfectly well what it contains. Then the gathering dissolves. Titian adds that he occasionally meets the various members of the Court and never fails to seize the opportunity of mentioning Aretino. He ends with regards to the friends in Venice.

If this letter has been edited by Aretino, it may have been only to shorten it and to restrict it to an account of his own affairs. There is, however, one point which I wish to emphasize. In his edition of letters written to him Aretino included only two of Titian's, yet hardly another friend or contemporary was so important to him as the painter. He mentions him over and over again in his own letters and emphasizes his preeminence; he is his *alter ego*, the Aretino among the painters.¹⁸ Certainly it was not for lack of respect or sympathy that Aretino published only two letters by Titian, who in the many months of his absence from Venice wrote him many more, a fact which is evident from Aretino's published answers. He simply considered them as inadequate from the standpoint of literary value. For Aretino a letter was primarily a literary production; for others it is mainly interesting as throwing light on the personality of the writer.

Let us examine from the latter point of view Titian's apologetic letter written from Bologna to Federigo of Mantua on July 12, 1530, a time when his friend in Venice apparently was not in a position to help. No Aretino has ever tampered with the text of this letter which is fresh and authentic beyond any suspicion.¹⁹ From the salutation to the dating at the end, it is

17. Ed. Marcolini, p. 147; ed. Landoni, I, pp. 244 ff.

18. Cf. Aretino's above-mentioned letter of December 18, 1537, to Valdaura: "E perciò io mi sforzo di ritrar le nature altrui con la vivacità con che il mirabile Tiziano ritrahe questo e quel volto. . ." (*Lettere*, I, p. 253v).

19. W. Braghirolli, "Tiziano alla corte dei Gonzaga," p. 73:

"III. S.r Duca

"Questa Chova o vero Cornelia, non se atrova qui in Bologna, la S.^{ra} Isabella l'anno mandata a stare a Nivolarà a mutar aire per eser ela amalata et le dicono che la son alquanto smarita per el male, pur lastano meio et io etendendo questo ho dubitato de non far cosa bona, esendo stata amalata et poi io esendo vinto dal gran caldo et etiam un pocho de male et per non mi amalare del tuto non ho pasato più oltra, pensando io de servir v.a Ex.^{ta} de questa cosa ben.^{ma} et quella se trovava ben satisfata,

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 307 f.

9. *Lettere*, II, p. 185v.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 196v.

11. See note 6.

12. *Biblioteca dell' eloquenza italiana di Monsignore Giusto Fontanini con le annotazioni del Signor Apostolo Zeno*, Venice, 1753, I, p. 203.

13. *Vita dell' Aretino*, Padua, 1741, pp. 128, 129.

14. *Op. cit.*, I, I, pp. xxiv ff.

15. See my article, "Neglected Contemporary Sources Relating to Michelangelo and Titian," *ART BULLETIN*, XXV, 1943, pp. 154-159.

16. Ed. Marcolini, p. 146; ed. Landoni, I, pp. 243 ff.

one long sentence in which explanations, affirmations, requests, and formulas of courtesy overlap each other in order that Titian's patron, who had dispatched him with a definite task to perform, might never suspect that his reasons for wishing to return shortly before reaching his place of destination were not unimpeachable. And at the end, when the Duke might catch his breath and feel a doubt rise, a postscript is added in order to eliminate the slightest objection on his part. In this long-winded sentence which reflects the "horror vacui" of the primitive letter writer we find nothing of Aretino's elegant arrangement. But in spite of the lack of literary merit the facts are seen and rendered with such clearness that the result is the raw material of drama. Titian had missed the girl whom he was supposed to paint in the interest of Mantuan politics; she had fallen ill and been sent to the country for a change of air. Now Titian is in Bologna and wonders whether he should follow her, in view of the heat which disagrees with him and forebodes sickness. Under such conditions Cornelia will perhaps not be a good model. Isabella Gonzaga di Pepoli's ladies whom he has consulted have furnished him all the details of her appearance. Based on these descriptions Titian will make such a likeness that nobody will ever suspect that he has not seen the model in flesh and blood. Consequently the Duke may have full confidence in Titian who adds incidentally: "Send to me to Venice the portrait painted by that what's his name (*quello altro pittore*) and I shall return them both to you directly."

Titian means to say that in artistic creation the power of the artist's mind is all important. He does not need, therefore, to see the girl Cornelia to produce a masterpiece; a mere description of her along with a portrait by some second-rate artist is sufficient stimulus to his genius. The letter is thus a kind of artistic confession of faith and has been so considered.²⁰ It is no less instructive as the expression of an artist's personality. One stroke of the brush close to the other, the events and the painter's reaction to them are concentrated to the utmost. The rhythm and accent depend on the personality of the writer. A letter from Tintoretto would give a very different impression.

Titian's style in his letters is distinguished by its naturalness and growth. This does not mean, however, that the writer was more sincere and reliable than Pietro Aretino. The contents are just as complicated in the letters written by Titian himself as in those drafted for him by Aretino. But the expression is simpler, more direct and realistic. Titian's matter-of-fact attitude is most evident, however, in those numerous short notes, written by the agents of princes, which throw light on his business dealings with his out-of-town patrons. These agents hold office in Venice; they visit Titian at the order of their chiefs, spur him on or listen to his excuses or requests for payment. Their reports which show not the slightest literary ambition echo, however, from time to time, Titian's own speech, preserving some of his most striking utterances. Tebaldi, agent of the Duke of Ferrara, writes on June 17, 1522, that Titian wishes to correct a few figures, "che non istanno a suo modo, e poi andrebbe a Sua Eccellenza e da lei non partirebbe prima che il dipinto fosse termi-

prima questa gentil madone me anno tanto ben impresso de le sue fatezze et bellezze che io ho ardire da farla de modo che non sarà niuno che la conosca dirà che io labia retrata più volte, et da questo priego V. Ex.^{11a} mi lasi questo carricho a mi, perchè in termine de X zorni vel circha vi la farò vedere, mandandomi a Venetia quello retrato che fece quello altro pittore de la dita Cornelia, et io ve li remanderò tuti dui indreto et la Ex.^{11a} vostra conoserà al parangone como desidero servirla in questo et in ogni altra cosa fin arò vita, et a v.a Ex.^{11a} basso la mano: De Bologna ali XII luio MDXXX.

"Visto V.a Ex.^{11a} el retrato quando sarà fato se li manchano qualche cosa io vinerò de gratia a nivolarla a reconzarlo ma credo non farà bisogno. Di V. Ex.^{11a}

"Al Ill.mo S.r Ducha De Mantova"

"Servitor TITIAN"

20. Hans Tietze, *Titian, Leben und Werke*, Vienna, 1936, p. 141.

nato."²¹ Titian applies in behalf of one of his friends for a license to shoot birds on the Po and promises in his turn "avrebbe per la grande allegrezza disegnato un paio di figure e coloritele nella tela di Sua Eccellenza le più belle e con quella maggiore sollecitudine avesse saputo."²² "Lasciamo queste baie" — "stop your kidding" — is Tebaldi's answer. Certainly Titian did not mean what he said.

On the whole he did not allow himself to be rushed or advised in his work, but stuck to his own ideas. Meanwhile he treated his impatient patrons with amiable humor. Gianfrancesco Leone, a member of the Accademia dei Virtuosi in Rome, who negotiated with Titian in Venice on behalf of Cardinal Farnese recommended Titian as a "persona trattabile, dolce, e da disporre a suo modo; il che è cosa di consideratione in simili uomini rari."²³

The agents, who knew Titian better, were well aware that his tractability was only superficial. On February 17, 1553, Leonard writes to Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino: "M. Titiano Vostra Eccellenza lo conosce è così fatto e perho raro virtuoso, questo è suo peccato, a tanto tempo che conversa meco et mangia tante volte meco, lo trovo in ogni cosa gentilissimo di questo non so puote emendar sia con chi si voglia . . ."²⁴

My differentiation between Titian's authentic letters and those drafted by Aretino can be submitted to a test. The letter of July 26, 1543,²⁵ to the Cardinal Farnese, Titian must have considered important. He had been travelling with the Cardinal who suddenly departed from Bologna, leaving Titian, who expected important decisions, at a loss; Titian spent the worst night of his life, "mi diede la peggior notte che mai habbi avuto in tutto il tempo di mia vita." Only the next morning Maffei came to give him the necessary explanations, thus saving him from seeing the bad night followed by a bad day and a bad year. The letter continues with declarations of reverence and states very precisely Titian's expectation of the "lettera del possesso" promised him by Maffei in the Cardinal's name. It is written with that palpable precision which one expects in a letter written by Titian himself. We have the feeling that he sat down to write it immediately after his return to Venice, before having had an opportunity to request Aretino's assistance. It may even be concluded from Aretino's own correspondence, which is somewhat confused as to dates for the period in question, that on July 26 he was hardly back in Venice from his trip to Verona to meet the Emperor. If he was back, he was very busy exploiting this meeting.

In my opinion, Titian's style in his letters is characterized by simple, unliterary diction and visual imagery, while Aretino's diction is artificial, aiming at rhetorical brilliance, and he presents his facts in an abstract way. While Titian, especially when he addresses Aretino, is influenced by him — in this respect like many contemporaries — he in turn exercised some influence on Aretino, who did not, however, consider his friend a model letter writer. It is interesting to note that such an influence turns up in a letter to Titian himself, the beautiful letter of May, 1544, which is so often quoted.²⁶ I refer not so much to the famous description of the atmosphere of the city, which might be called a conscious adjustment to the artist's way of seeing, as to the unconscious conformity at the beginning of the letter. Aretino describes how after a solitary meal — he had been sick for four days — he rose from the table and "appoggiate le braccia in sul piano della corniccie della finestra, e sopra lui abbandonato il

21. G. Campori, "Tiziano e gli Estensi," *Nuova antologia*, Series 1, xxvii, 1874, p. 595.

22. *Loc. cit.*

23. A. Ronchini, "Delle relazioni di Tiziano coi Farnesi memoria," *Atti e memorie delle R. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenese e parmense*, Modena, II, 1864, p. 130. This is probably an allusion to Michelangelo's intractability which was common knowledge in Rome.

24. G. Gronau, *Documenti artistici urbinati*, Florence, 1936, pp. 99 ff.

25. Ronchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 ff.

26. *Lettere*, III, pp. 48v ff.

petto e quasi il resto di tutta la persona; mi diede a riguardare" (there follows the famous description of the Grand Canal). The visual imagery of this passage is striking. A man leaning with his arms on a window sill and gazing down was a vision which Titian, like many artists in Venice before and after him, experienced so strongly, that he "realized" it as a motive in his painting of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.

Even if we were not told by Ridolfi about Giovanni Maria Verdizotti's secretarial services to Titian, we should be justified in assuming that Titian did not begin writing his official letters himself after Aretino's death in 1556. A passage like the overwrought comparison of Titian's relations to Philip II with Apelles' to Alexander the Great, in the letter of September 27, 1559,²⁷ would suffice to convince us that he had had some outside help: "Qual pittore antico e moderno si può vantare et gloriare più di me essendo da un tal Re benignamente detto et dalla mia propria volontà consacrata a servirlo? Io certo me ne tengo tanto buono et do ad intendere a me stesso d'esser da tanto che oso dire non haver invidia a quel famoso Apelle così caro ad Alessandro Magno et dico con ragione impero che s'io considero alla dignità del signore da noi servito non so vedere qual altrosia o fosse mai dopo lui più a lui simile di Vostra Maestà in tutte quelle parti che sono maravigliose e degne di lode in un gran principe; quanto poi alle persone vostre benchè nel vero il mio poco valore non sia di gran lunga da esser paragonato alla eccellenza di quel singolare huomo a me basta però che si come egli fu in gratia del suo Re così io parimente mi sento essere in quella del mio. Perciò che l'autorità del suo benigno giudicio congiunto alla magnanimità veramente Reale che usa meco di continuo mi fa simile et forse anco da più che non fu Apelle nella opinione degli huomini. . . ." We cannot, however, contrast Titian's own letters with those written for him by Verdizotti as we can with those which Aretino penned for him. As a writer Verdizotti never reached the clear stature of Aretino, and in his old age Titian in all probability wrote almost no letters himself. One notable letter which he did write will be discussed shortly.

With Verdizotti as an author Stringa has dealt in full in his additions to Francesco Sansovino's *Venetia*.²⁸ A later list of his writings is given by the Cavaliere Napoleone Luigi Cittadella.²⁹ Born in Venice between 1525 and 1530, he was, according to his own statement, a churchman.³⁰ When Vasari met him at Titian's house during his second stay in Venice, Verdizotti was in his late thirties and worked in an amateurish way, though under Titian's eyes, on illustrations, the best known examples of which are those for the *Cento Favole*. Cittadella has published a few of his letters.³¹ They are written between 1586 and 1591, and all of them concern Torquato Tasso whom Verdizotti, being fanatically partial to Ariosto, criticizes most savagely. Such intimate outbursts addressed to a close friend, Orazio Ariosto, son of the great poet, can scarcely be compared with letters written for Titian several decades earlier to the Emperor and other great dignitaries.

What strikes us when examining Titian's official letters after 1556 is the complicated structure of the sentences, which sound as though translated into Italian from Latin. Scanning the letter to Philip II of July 12, 1559, after Leoni's assault on his son Orazio,³² we notice that the description of the events is realistic enough to make us surmise a vivid report by Titian, or with rather more likelihood by Orazio himself. But the diction drags; the exciting tale is retarded by sentences like this: ". . . l'inimico di Dio et il scelerato sui figlio, già bandito dalla Spagna

per luterano fu sforzato dal suo crudele appetito di dar' opera con alcuni compagni pari sui inanzi al dessinato tempo al pensato assassinamento. . . ." The double identification of Leoni with the devil himself and with the devil's son is a piece of ecclesiastical oratory. The imputation of Lutheranism to his former friend and colleague is very up to date, but to proffer this when the murderer and his companions are already brandishing their knives is a pedantic impediment to the narrative. Some details, incidentally, recall invectives used in Verdizotti's letters published by Cittadella.

In the letters of the decades preceding 1556 which bear Titian's signature, we were in a position to distinguish clearly the personalities of Titian and Aretino. But in analyzing the letter of 1559 in which Verdizotti's hand is apparent, I spoke of the vivid report made by Titian, or more probably, perhaps, by his son. The mere fact that I felt compelled to mention both shows how increasingly difficult it is to distinguish Titian's personality clearly as a letter writer in his late years—a situation which finds its parallel in the conditions during these same years in the artist's studio where Titian's personality as a painter has long since merged with that of his son. All the more welcome is a unique document in which Titian's figure appears in unadulterated purity. It is his letter to Orazio of June 17, 1557,³³ written in Venice. When Crowe and Cavalcaselle reprinted the first half of the letter in the German edition of their *Life of Titian*,³⁴ they commented that the text was very confused. In later literature the letter has received no attention, wrongly, as we shall see. It runs: "Horatio, el tuo tardar a schrivermi mi a dato molestia, tu mi schri di d'aver auto ducati 4: così in la tua lettera, quanto a questo non portaria la spesa a mandar a Milano. E pur per alegreza tu aij fatto error con la pena dove tu aij voluto dir dua milia, aij dito ducato, basta che tu credi che le cose andarono bene. (Io ho scritto a S. M^{ta} chel tesorier de Zenova non a modo de pagarmi. Spiero che S. M^{ta} farà provisione) per quello che mi schrive el suo animo è d'andar a Genova, se tu pensi di far buon fruto farai bene comel favor de Sua Ex^{ta} se anche non fati che sai sul fatto che meglio la puoi considerare tu che mi, et andando guardati che non cavalcha per el caldo, se tu puoi andar in dui zorni fato i quatro, quanto mo al Cavalier non li oso schivar finchè non sia venuto quella bestia di quel prontator che sua Madre dice che de zorno in zorno l'aspetta, che luij è a Fiorenza, e sei non sa se in quella cassa li sia quella forma del Cristo della Minerva, de modo che mi stò pensoso non potendolo servir et cavarli questo suo buon desiderio, et a sua Cortesia me raccomandarj [ij?] . . . li patroni . . . Da Venezia al 17 Zugno del 1557. Tuo Padre Titiano V^o

The place to which the letter is addressed seems to have been somewhere in North Italy, not far from Milan and not very far from Genoa. The tone is that of a business letter written by the senior to the junior chief, mingled with fatherly concern for the behavior of his son. Again and again he comments on the letter he has received from him, then takes up his suggestion to write directly to the "Cavaliere" in whose neighborhood Orazio is apparently staying. Titian prefers not to do so, but at the end of the letter begs the son to present his compliments. The reasons for his embarrassment are quite precisely explained. The wretch who has charge of the case is at Florence, and his mother expects him back any day; but if the cast of the Christ of the Minerva should turn out not to be in the case, Titian would be at a loss how to fulfill the eager desire of the patron. What this eager desire was we can only surmise. But it is altogether possible that the "Cavaliere" wished Titian to do a painting for which the cast would serve as a model.

The "Christ of the Minerva" is certainly Michelangelo's marble figure. It is interesting to learn that around 1557 Titian

27. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Titian, His Life and Times*, 2nd ed., London, 1881, II, p. 516.

28. *Venetia città nobilissima ecc. descritta . . . da M. Francesco Sansovino et hora . . . ampliata dal M. R. D. Giovanni Stringa*, Venice, 1604.

29. "Torquato Tasso e Giovanni Verdizotti," *Atti dell' Ateneo Veneto*, Series II, VI, 1871, pp. 287-298.

30. See the preface of his *Vite dei SS. Padri*, Venice, 1574.

31. *Op. cit.*

32. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 513 ff.

33. The letter, which had once belonged to Canova, was first published by A. Gualandri, *Memorie originali*, Series II, 1841, pp. 102 ff.

34. *Titian, Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1877, II, p. 574, note 64.

had a cast of this figure somewhere in his shop or that it was accessible to him in another shop. It is well known that King Francis I of France tried in 1546 to have such a cast made for him by Primaticcio, and we may surmise that several casts taken from the same master cast were in circulation. By a curious coincidence the nude holding a big cross behind Christ in Titian's altarpiece in Medole has been connected with Michelangelo's figure by O. Fischel,³⁵ a critical suggestion accepted by Suida and Tietze. Titian's letter, if my interpretation is correct, not only tends to confirm this suggestion, but also throws light on the channel through which Michelangelo may have influenced him. Probably no vague recollection of his visit in Rome, nor a sketch of his own, nor any graphic reproduction provided him with an image of the Minerva Christ. Rather he worked from a cast of the figure which served him as an interpretation of nature just as classical sculpture did (Ridolfi mentions a tradition according to which Titian copied from a cast of a Cupid attributed to Phidias the angels in his St. Peter Martyr³⁶). We have not been informed as to the exact date of origin of the painting in Medole. The usually accepted date has been 1554, because in this year a relative of Titian's became curate of the church in Medole. This date, which is supported by stylistic arguments, is very close to the date of Titian's letter. If the "Cavaliere" of the letter did commission the painting in 1557, the use of Michelangelo's Christ was most probably his own idea, not the artist's. There remains, it is true, the unlikelyhood that a patron especially interested in the Minerva Christ would have been satisfied with his appearing not as Christ, but as the accessory figure of Adam.³⁷

That Titian wrote the letter of 1557 seems beyond question. Yet because it is exceptionally intimate and because its brevity does not give a sufficient idea of a personal style it can hardly serve as a touchstone for the authenticity of other letters of the late years. This unique document in which the aged Titian appears as a letter writer quite apart from his son, has, incidentally, no analogy among the late paintings. The difficulty, even impossibility, of disentangling the threads in this late work arises for the most part from the fact that Orazio did not outlive his father, so that we are deprived of any works of his own which might help us to measure his share in the common production which now carries his father's name. Orazio remains in our imagination as the aged Titian's strengthened hand. He may also have helped him with his letters, but here, too, we are not in a position to distinguish between father and son and must, as with the paintings, consider Orazio as part of the obscured figure of the aged Titian. The joint authorship of Verdisotti and Titian-Orazio which I have suggested is further complicated by the aftereffect of the long-lasting association with Pietro Aretino. Favorite phrases of his which Titian remembered and still considered effective were dragged into Verdisotti's letters. Aretino's formula in the letter to Charles V of September 10, 1554: ". . . ho supplicato la Regina Celesta che intercede gratia per me appresso de V.M.C. col ricordo della sua imagine che hora le viene inanzi con quello addolorato effetto che le ha saputo esprimere nel volto la qualità de miei travagli"³⁸ is repeated in the letter of April 2, 1561,³⁹ to Philip II, in which Verdisotti had a hand — a letter which, like the other, shows Titian requesting overdue payments: ". . . e per interceditrice di questo ho ap-

parecchiato una pittura della Maddalena la quale la si appresenterà inanzi con le lagrime in su gli occhi e supplichevole per li bisogni del sui divotissimo servo." This may suffice as an example of Aretino's influence on the late letters. So far as authentic letters by Titian are concerned, there is no hope of identifying others in the material handed down to us.

The most fruitful part of this material is thus the letters from the period 1527-56 in which, as we have seen, Titian appears in full contrast to the well defined personality of Pietro Aretino. We have, however, still a word to add concerning Titian's letters from the preceding period when Aretino had not yet settled in Venice. For this period no literary tradition exists comparable to that contained in Ridolfi for the later years. We can only infer that during the early years Titian received the same kind of help that he had later.

As a matter of fact there are only very few letters from these early years and only one in which we are able to recognize the epistolary style which we tried to establish as Titian's after 1527. The letter in question is dated February 19, 1517, and addressed to the Duke of Ferrara.⁴⁰ In it Titian informs his patron that he has fulfilled his order, the design of a fountain, and tells him in general how he is getting along with his work. It is a business letter comparable to those of the agents and contains only the few obsequious phrases indispensable in such a letter. In his letter to the Signoria of March 31, 1513, Titian shows himself young and proud as nowhere else: "Havendo da puto in suso Principe Serenissimo et Signori Excellentissimi io Tician de serviete [sic!] de Cadore postome ad imparar l'arte della pittura non tanto per cupidità del guadagno, quanto per veder de acquistare qualche poco di fama: et esser connumerato tra quelli che a i presenti tempi fanno profession de tal arte. Et ancor ch'io sia sta per avanti et etiam de presenti cum instantia recercato et dala Santità del Pontefice et altri Signori andar a servirli. . . ."⁴¹ Titian goes on to say, however, that he prefers to remain at Venice and offers the Signoria his services.

In 1513 Titian holds rich promise for the future. Hitherto he had collaborated in the decoration of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi as Giorgione's assistant, completed sundry paintings of his prematurely deceased master and worked in the provincial town of Padua perhaps under similar conditions. But he had behind him a powerful set of friends who believed in his genius, especially those whose portraits he had painted. One of them was Pietro Bembo who had moved to Rome and was the person who tried to bring Titian to the Papal Court. The proud mood in the application to the Signoria may be young Titian's own, but the clear and precise diction is that of an experienced stylist.

In another letter not only the diction, but also a substantial part of the contents are due to the anonymous helper. This is the letter of April 1, 1518, to the Duke of Ferrara. The Duke had sent to the artist along with frame and canvas a letter in which the subject matter of the painting which he had ordered was described in full. After acknowledging receipt of it, Titian continues: "et lette le lettere et la informatione inclusa la mi è parso tanto bella et ingenuosa, che non so che si potesse trovare et veramente quanto più vi ho pensato, tanto più mi son confermato in una opinione che la grandezza de l'arte di pictori antichi era in gran parte, anzi in tutto ajutata da quelli gran Principi, quali ingenuosissimi li ordinavano, di che poi haveano tanta fama et laude. Perciò che se Dio mi concede ch'io possi in qualche parte satisfar la expectation della S.V., chi non sa ch'io sarò lodato? Et niente di meno in questo io li haverò dato solum il corpo et la Excellentia Vostra l'anima che è la più degna parte che sia in una pittura. . . . Ma lasciamo stare."⁴²

The idea, so clearly formulated, that the artist contributes

35. *Titian, des Meisters Gemälde* (Klassiker der Kunst, III), 4th ed., Stuttgart, n.d., p. 257.

36. *Maraviglie*, I, p. 168. It is interesting to note that a Venetian sculptor, wishing to produce a "classical" marble relief, had used as models an Attic stele, Michelangelo's David and, curiously enough, the Christ of the Minerva, evidently considering the figures by Michelangelo as models of the same character and value as classical sculpture (see E. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1930, p. 32, fig. 26) — Ed.

37. According to O. Fischel, the Good Thief (*op. cit.*).

38. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Titian*, II, p. 508.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 520.

40. Campori, "Tiziano," p. 585.

41. G. B. Lorenzi, *Monumenti per servire alla storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Venice, 1868, p. 157, no. 337.

42. Campori, *op. cit.*, pp. 586 ff.

only the body whereas the princely patron contributes the soul of a painting, would be amazing, either as an aesthetic concept or a courtly compliment, in a letter written by an artist of Titian's type. It would be rare enough coming from a painter of this or any period. To mention another Venetian of the Renaissance, we know how expressly Giovanni Bellini refused to have the program of his painting prescribed for him by Isabella d'Este, and how utterly in vain Bembo tried to change the aged artist's mind. Titian was a painter who restricted himself to a narrow range of subjects and when ordered by his patrons to paint unusual allegories strove to mold them into customary patterns of composition (the Allegory of Avalos, and the Education of Cupid, for instance, he adjusted to the pattern of a "Santa Conversazione"). To be sure, Titian had consented to paint two compositions based on descriptions of Philostratus for the Duke of Ferrara, and to one of these Crowe and Cavalcaselle supposed the letter to refer,⁴³ an hypothesis which I question in view of the shortness of the term, little more than three weeks, given him to finish the pictures. However this may be, it seems unlikely that the task could have aroused his enthusiasm to such an extent as to prompt the aesthetic idea so complimentary to the Duke which appears in our letter.

The thesis that in his early years, as well as later, Titian allowed himself to be advised in composing his official letters by his literary friends would shift this mention of theoretical matters from the painter's studio, where theory is seldom the order of the day, to the more fitting atmosphere of the literary study. Leon Battista Alberti had touched upon the theme when he urged the artist to frequent the society of poets and orators who might acquaint him with attractive subjects such as the Calumny of Apelles in Lucian or the Three Graces in Hesiod.⁴⁴ If Titian's letter was conceived by one of his literary friends, it might be alluring to think of corresponding theories concerning the art of poetry. But though in the frequent defenses of poetry directed against its rejection by Plato, the general importance of subject matter is repeatedly discussed, no such emphatic contrasting of invention and execution appears as is found in Titian's letter. Vida's *Poetica* which contains the earliest literary theory of the new era was especially influential in Ferrara and probably known to students before its first publication in 1520.⁴⁵ Here as in subsequent treatises the primacy is given to invention which includes the choice of subjects:

"New rules 'tis now my province to impart
First to invent, and then dispose with art,—
Each a laborious task; but they who share
Heaven's kinder bounty and peculiar care,
A glorious train of images may find,
Preventing hope and crowding on the mind.
The other task, to settle every part
Depends on judgment and the powers of art . . ."⁴⁶

Between this passage and Titian's letter we notice a certain relationship, but no identity of ideas. To discover the writer of the letter we must try another method. Which person in the circle around Titian in his early years was trained in literary theory, was sufficiently interested in the painter to place his own knowledge and experience at his disposal, and, last but not least, had

seceded from this circle by 1527? Of Titian's friends there is only one whom this description fits, Andrea Navagero. Born in Venice in 1483, he had studied in Padua with Fracastoro, Gasparo, and Marcantonio Contarini, and gone to Rome with Bembo and Sabellico where he devoted his time to philology and to amateur painting and sculpturing. We know that in 1514/15 he was again in Rome and at Easter of 1516 joined Bembo, Bevezzano, Castiglione, and Raphael for a trip to Tivoli. About this time Raphael painted Navagero's and Bevezzano's portraits.⁴⁷ Another portrait of Andrea Navagero had been painted by Titian in his mural, now destroyed, in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, in the Ducal Palace.⁴⁸ In it he did not follow Raphael's portrait now in the Doria Gallery in Rome, but used one by himself as a model, as is proved by a copy in Berlin⁴⁹ and by Palma Giovane's "restoration"⁵⁰ of the lost painting in the Ducal Palace. Navagero was in the service of the Venetian government from 1510 on and at the age of thirty-two was appointed to write the history of the Republic. He left Venice on July 14, 1524 to become ambassador to the court of Spain. Then after a brief stay at home, he went to the court of France where he died on May 25, 1529. To this short account of his official career I add a note important for the present argument. From Titian's application of 1513 to the Signoria, which I mentioned above, we learn that the painter had rejected an invitation to the Papal Court. By Vasari we are informed that Bembo had succeeded in obtaining the invitation for Titian,⁵¹ and by Lodovico Dolce that it was the "Great Navagero, as excellent a connoisseur as a poet, most of all in the Latin language, who persuaded Titian not to accept the invitation."⁵²

In Navagero's extant writings there is nothing that would definitely point to him as the author of Titian's early letters. Those letters which he wrote from Spain to Giovanni Battista Ramusio⁵³ are very personal documents and, therefore, hardly suitable for comparison. But no more do they offer any argument against his authorship. And it is interesting that Navagero's feeling for nature in his poetry corresponds to that of the generation of painters who were young at the beginning of the century.⁵⁴ His Latin poem dealing with the wanderer fleeing the noonday heat and seeking repose by a fountain, lacking in action and mythological content, finds its analogies in the idyllic backgrounds of Titian's compositions.⁵⁵ But the source from which most information might be expected, because it professes to reveal Navagero's aesthetic principles, is so troubled, that we can conclude still less from it than from his letters and poems. This is Fracastoro's dialogue *Navagerus sive la poetica*, a posthumous apotheosis of Navagero in which he appears as the chief speaker.⁵⁶ The ideas presented here are certainly Fracastoro's rather than Navagero's. The question of subject matter is again specifically examined, beginning with the opinion of Horace who considered any subject suitable if treated poetically, a point

43. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 182.

44. "Della pittura di Leon Battista Alberti libri tre," *Kleinen kunst-theoretische Schriften*, ed. H. Janitschek, Vienna and Leipzig, 1877, pp. 145 ff.

45. G. B. Giraldis (Cintio) of Ferrara (1504-73), in "Discorso intorno al comporre dei romanzi" (published in *Scritti estetici di G. B. Giraldis (Cintio)*, Biblioteca rara, LII, 1864, p. 63), says with reference to Vida's *Poetica*: "E non per i versi, ma per le materie principalmente è egli detto poeta, in quanto elle da lui sono e fatte e finte atte e convenevoli alla poesia. Che s'egli solo si prendesse le cose fatte e non ne fingesse di nuove, perderebbe il nome del poeta. . ."

46. Christopher Pitt's translation of Vida's *Poetica* (A. C. Cook, *The Art of Poetry*, New Haven, 1892, pp. 77 ff.).

47. Bevezzano's portrait, which is placed among the contemporary poets in Raphael's Parnassus, used to be identified as that of Sannazzaro; to his left is Accolti who can be identified on the ground of the likeness in Vasari's mural in Florence, the Entrance of Leo X in Bologna. See the detail illustrated in the *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIII, 1933, p. 199, pl. II c.

48. Ridolfi, *Maraviglie*, I, p. 157.

49. G. Gronau, "Some Portraits by Titian and Raphael," *Art in America*, XXV, 1937, p. 23, fig. 1.

50. See the illustration in B. Berenson, "While on Tintoretto," *Festschrift für M. J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 231, fig. 4 b. Navagero's portrait is at the left, in the upper row.

51. *Vite*, VII, p. 437.

52. Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo della pittura intitolato l'Aretino*, Venice, 1557, p. 67.

53. First published by Tommaso Porcacchi, *Raccolta delle lettere di XIII homini illustri*, Venice, 1556.

54. In his *Almaro Barbaro*, Venice, 1919, p. 162, Arnaldo Ferriguto underscores the influence of Navagero's *Ad noctem* and *Ad Venerem* upon Giorgione.

55. The poem is reprinted in *La rassegna nazionale*, Florence, CLX, 1908, pp. 281 ff.

56. *Opera Omnia*, Padua, 1739, p. 319. (First edition, Venice, 1555.)

of view which must have appealed to Fracastoro who had devoted an extremely long poem to syphilis. Although Fracastoro's memories in this dialogue reach far back into his early student years, the dialogue itself originated later, in the period in which Aristotelian ideas had been fully accepted and a new approach made to the problem of subject matter. The ideas expressed in the dialogue belong to a period posterior to that of Titian's letter to the Duke.

To sum the matter up, my arguments in favor of Navagero as Titian's literary helper rest chiefly on external evidence which is suggestive, but furnishes no proof. He must remain then as only the hypothetical writer of Titian's early letters.

One more word by way of justifying an investigation of this kind. When he published Titian's letter to Margaret of Austria, Eugene Müntz wrote that the painter's letters had been at all times highly esteemed and carefully preserved, not only as documents concerning an outstanding artist, but no less because of their high literary quality.⁵⁷ But precisely those letters which

57. "Les lettres de Titien ont été de tout temps fort recherchées. L'intérêt qu'elles présentent tient autant à la haute personnalité de leur

have been most treasured because of their perfection of style must be considered the productions of contemporary literary men, of an anonymous writer for whom I suggest the name of Andrea Navagero, of Pietro Aretino and of Giovanni Maria Verdizotti. Only a very few long, and a few more brief letters exist that may be attributed to Titian himself. In these authentic letters Titian appears very human. Visual imagery is so predominant that he makes us see passing events with the utmost vividness. He does not ramble and he grasps essentials without loss of detail. He invents no phrases, uses no figures of speech and the few literary formulas which appear occasionally are mere routine. Titian never forsakes reality. In his authentic letters we discover a reflection of the same personality who confronts us in the richer and more impressive world of his paintings. The sort of formal perfection which Müntz praised in certain letters is not Titian's and has no analogies in his artistic production.

auteur qu'à la distinction de son langage, à leur urbanité, à leur élégance, reflets de cette longue existence, calme et glorieuse entre toutes, de ce talent si ample et si suave" (*Les archives des arts*, 1st Series, Paris, 1890, p. 68).

BOOK AND PERIODICAL REVIEWS

RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON THE FINE ARTS OF PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL

The study of Portuguese art offers an unusually broad field of geographical exploration. No other national European style was so widely planted throughout the world before the nineteenth century. It had flourished on the Portuguese mainland, and in the empire, in the Atlantic archipelagos, on the African continent from Morocco to Mozambique, in India and the Far Eastern colony of Macau. In America Portuguese art had had one of its most prolific expressions in the former colony of Brazil during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Through this vast region a remarkable homogeneity of style prevailed. Only rarely were concessions made to local conditions of climate and indigenous expression. When the final catalogue of this accomplishment is made, the total number of monuments recorded will give Portugal a quantitative ranking far beyond its size and its influence in the development of European art.

Such a catalogue, however, will not be available for a long time because serious study of the subject is only now beginning. But within the last few years an encouraging amount of research has been accomplished and several important new publications have appeared. To discuss these monographs, it is convenient to separate them into three territorial divisions: Portugal, the empire, and Brazil.

I

To the whole subject of Portuguese art, Reynaldo dos Santos has made an outstanding contribution. As president of the Academia Nacional de Belas Artes, in the last five years, he has revived a somnolent institution, creating within it a great collection of photographs, the *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*, and making its *Boletim* one of the most interesting fine arts periodicals in Europe. He has organized important exhibitions of painting and minor arts and superintended the production of well made and useful catalogues. His handsome folio, *Os primitivos portugueses* (Lisbon, Bertrand, 1940, 64 pp., 167 ill.), is the first authoritative corpus of mediaeval and Renaissance Portuguese paintings. Throughout his whole career as an art historian, he has kept constantly in mind the problem of interpreting the spirit of Portuguese art. As his work of inventory has steadily grown, and as he has reconstituted schools and defined the activities of individual masters, he has drawn attention in one publication after another to the ideas and aesthetic impulses that dominated their production.¹ His last and most penetrating essay in this direction sums up his thoughts of several decades and provides a basic guide to the understanding of the Portuguese tradition in art.

O espírito e a essência da arte em Portugal is the first of three lectures by Reynaldo dos Santos in the volume *Conferências de arte* (Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1943, 77 pp., 35 ill.). At the outset he seeks a *constante de sentimento*, or basic spiritual impulse inherent in the art of his country. He finds it in a "consistent feeling for depth, dynamism, the picturesque . . . and forms activated in light."

These are the qualities that underlie all surface expression, that are stronger and more profound than style or period. These Dr. Santos considers the expression in art of the Portuguese

people. Limiting himself to architecture, he finds these qualities first dominant in the Romanesque. They faded from the Gothic and reappeared in the Manueline. They were effaced anew by the imported Renaissance. Finally he sees them redeemed by the Baroque.

To begin with, the Romanesque was a very special event in Portugal for the importation of the style and the reconquest of the country from the Moors coincided chronologically. The revolution in Portugal was completed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while in Spain it was prolonged to the threshold of the sixteenth. During this period all the principal towns, Lisbon, Évora, Braga, Coimbra, and Oporto, erected Romanesque cathedrals which were never subsequently replaced. In the province of Entre Minho e Douro and part of the Beiras, there are more than two hundred local churches and monasteries which have remained basically or entirely Romanesque.² In all of these buildings the subtleties of the French models disappeared in plan, in construction, and in decoration. A new sense of volume, a greater contrast of light and shadow, and a new simplification of construction and decoration were achieved in terms of the sturdy, uncompromising local granite. That the spirit and form of this new architecture suited the temperament of the simple, seafaring Portuguese people is proved by the fact that they were satisfied to keep it almost intact until the advent of the Manueline Renaissance.

For, as Dr. Santos shows, the conventional European Gothic style was never accepted in Portugal as it was in Spain, where a French cathedral like that of León could be built. That the resources were not lacking is demonstrated by the remarkable achievement of Batalha. But even here, in spite of the French architect, the organic harmonies of the Spanish Gothic were lacking. The plan is archaic, the decoration impoverished, the walls are too thick, and the windows too narrow. Batalha seems to the author too robust and too simple to meet the requirements of the international Gothic norm. The Romanesque was pushing from under, just as classical forms were pushing from under the imposed Gothic of Italy.

The real significance of the Manueline for Reynaldo dos Santos is that it liberated Portuguese architecture from an unwilling subservience to unsympathetic forms and permitted a return to the robust proportions and the naturalism of the Romanesque. For him it was the achievement of an Atlantic civilization which glorified the sea and transferred its dramatic freedom to architecture rather than the product of a Mediterranean culture built on the lingering classical tradition of restraint and order. The Manueline presents another contrast with Spain, for the complicated flat patterns of the Plateresque are as foreign to the spirit of this strongly salient architecture as the Mudéjar itself.

This liberation from unwanted restraint was repeated in the Baroque architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The formal Romanesque of the sixteenth century had remained almost entirely in foreign hands. Thus Romanesque, Manueline, and Baroque are all a normal expression of the Portuguese character in art, which the Gothic and Renaissance temporarily hindered in its development. Each was accompanied by a tremendous surge of building, while during the Gothic and Renaissance periods construction was limited to a few isolated examples. Finally Dr. Santos argues that the Manueline

1. *L'art portugais*, Paris, 1938; *A torre de Belém, 1514-1520*, Coimbra, Universidade, 1922.

2. There is as yet no satisfactory publication on local Romanesque building in Portugal. The study that Miss Georgiana Goddard King had begun in 1936 was cut off by her death.

style was the first appearance of the Baroque phenomenon in Europe since antiquity. It was isolated in Portugal and flourished there without foreign influence.

Although any such appraisal of the spirit and essence of the art of a country is bound to be conditioned by the personal prejudices and reactions of the writer, it is safe to say that those who know Portuguese art will accept these conclusions. They may wish that Dr. Santos had applied his theory to the problem of the plastic monumental art of Nuno Gonçalves and his contemporaries whose work he has so ably reconstructed elsewhere. They may wish that he had found the opportunity to consider other fundamental characteristics of Portuguese architecture, its regular preference of small scale construction to large ones, and its apparent aversion to vaulting and the use of the cupola in any but the most ambitious of structures. These tendencies seem to have been as enduring as the ones Dr. Santos has mentioned and they are as true of Brazilian architecture as of the mother country. Some may regret that he did not find room to discuss the peculiar pastoral quality of Portuguese architecture which was a characteristic even of the city buildings until the middle of the nineteenth century. This pastoral quality is the product of the simple plaster walls with angle pilasters of stone and only the scantiest use of formal architectural adornment. Together with the picturesque exterior stairs and flaring roofs of these low, simple buildings, the pastoral flavor of Portuguese architecture brought the country into the town and a serenity to the streets which is rarely found in Spain. It is a reflection of the national love of the lush, peaceful countryside which dates from the mediaeval poets and Sá de Miranda and the dream of every Portuguese to own a *quinta com galinhas*, or, more ambitiously, a *solar* in the enchanted Minho. But everyone will recognize the value of this essay in laying the foundations for the study of Portuguese art all over the Lusitanian world as a distinct and original national occurrence and not as an imitation of the art of Spain, as it has so often been considered. This study should lead the way to the writing of a comprehensive history of Portuguese art, so sorely needed, which can take advantage of all the thinking and all the discoveries since the writings of Sousa Viterbo³ and Walter Crum Watson.⁴

The second lecture by Reynaldo dos Santos is devoted to Portuguese painting of the seventeenth century. This period has always been a blank spot to most students, who dismissed it as a hiatus between the Italianate achievements of the late sixteenth century and the school of the Vieiras in the eighteenth century. Occasionally a dated portrait in some private collection or a signed altarpiece in a Jesuit church indicated that there had been painters. But it was assumed that the best artists had gone to Madrid during the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal and that national instability and impoverishment had prolonged this debilitating tradition after the independence of 1640. In 1942 the National Academy of Fine Arts organized an exhaustive exhibit of seventeenth-century portraiture and catalogued much of the religious and decorative painting of the period.

The exhibition failed to reveal an unknown Velázquez or an unrecognized Zurbarán, but it did prove that there had been a number of well-trained, sincere, and engaging portraitists at work in Portugal in the 1600's. Most important was the discovery that these men had been content to work within the confines of the national tradition without greatly imitating either Rubens, the Italians, or the men of Spain. The most interesting of these artists is easily Domingos Vieira (active 1630-1640), the painter of three ladies, D. Isabel de Moura, D. Margarida Moreira, and D. Maria Antónia de Melo. These personages, who all wear the fashionable diaphanous hoods of the period, are portrayed with the true Portuguese naturalism which goes back to

Nuno Gonçalves. The effect is enhanced in the first of these portraits where the head alone of the sitter is shown and an intimacy between the lady and the spectator is created after the fashion of Velázquez's *Góngora*. A number of appealing *sfumato* portraits of children by the Marquês de Montebelo, an anonymous Catharine of Bragança as a child from the Évora Museum, and a wonderfully drawn Frei Fernando da Cruz at his devotions, also by an unknown hand, were the other outstanding offerings of the 1942 exhibit. Beyond the discovery of these interesting paintings which may well lead to the finding of still more as time and the work of the Academy go on, the exhibition, as Dr. Santos states, opened a window upon a great mass of costumes and furnishings with which to document the social history of Portugal in the seventeenth century and to establish a basis on which to study the work of the colonial painters of the time. The significance of this paper is that it summarizes all that is known about these different painters, separates them into categories, and presents an analysis of their styles.

In the last of these three studies, the scene shifts from the austere shadow of the remains of seventeenth-century painting to the colorful beginnings of Romanticism in Portugal. In *Sequeira e Goya*, Dr. Santos deals with the prolific draughtsman and painter, Domingos António de Sequeira (1768-1837). The Portuguese Sequeira had a great deal in common with his distinguished contemporary, Francisco Goya. Both studied in Rome and Parma, both were called upon to paint their respective royal families *en masse*, both were liberals and emigrated because of reactionary regimes. Both were among the earliest Iberian lithographers. Yet there is no proof that Sequeira knew Goya, either personally or through his work, for there is no record of his visiting Spain in the time of Goya's activity. Nor does it seem that there were paintings by the great Spaniard in Portugal while Sequeira remained there.

There are certain stylistic resemblances between the work of the two men. In some of his sketches for portraits the Portuguese painter worked out a sparkling play of light and shade over shimmering colors that closely resembles the impressionism of Goya. His allegory of the royal family's return from Brazil (collection of the Duke of Palmela) disposes the sovereigns and their children in a group like that of the Family of Charles IV. Several of Sequeira's portraits show English influence, but this, as Dr. Santos points out, he probably received directly from Bartolozzi, Vieira Portuense, or Domenico Pelligrini, three influential artists who went to Lisbon from England in 1802 and 1803, rather than indirectly from Goya. In his later work he developed a lyrical use of chiaroscuro which separates him both in spirit and in technique from the author of the *Caprichos*. Sequeira's relation to Goya, therefore, is not a close one. It is in his capacity as the outstanding Portuguese painter of the early nineteenth century that Sequeira is best compared with the Spanish master.

In this respect Sequeira deserves a careful analysis, and this Reynaldo dos Santos provides in his essay. Drawing on the recent biography of the painter by Luiz Xavier da Costa (*Domingos António de Sequeira*, Lisbon, Amigos do museu, 1939, 58 pp., 5 ill.), he describes the unhappy years in Portugal when Sequeira worked unwillingly for the French under Junot, only to be punished later by imprisonment at the hands of the victorious Portuguese government. Liberated at last, he turned his attention to a great historical canvas in the manner of David, the Promulgation of the Constitution of 1822, the sketches for which show a spontaneity of drawing and an *élan* of color which bring Sequeira into the orbit of nascent European Romanticism. Before the painting could be completed, however, his liberal hopes were dashed by the reactionary revolution of Dom Miguel in 1823. A year later, in Paris, he exhibited a *Death of Camões* in the historic Salon of 1824. This painting, praised by the French critics, has disappeared, but its subject indicates his pre-

3. Francisco Marquês de Sousa Viterbo, *Dicionário histórico e documental dos arquitectos, engenheiros, e constructores portugueses*, Lisbon, 1899-1922. 3 vols.

4. *Portuguese Architecture*, London, 1908.

occupation with the themes of a national Romanticism. During this period he continued his studies of light and color under the influence of the Englishmen and Rembrandt, developing in a series of lithographs the luminous chiaroscuro that was to infuse the religious drawings and paintings of his last years in Rome. In these works, as well as in all the previous phases of Sequeira's career, Dr. Santos feels the presence of a gentle lyricism, warming the drawing, tingeing the feeling, fusing the vaporous shadows and the shimmering color, which he identifies as one of the basic characteristics of Portuguese art. It is the painted expression of the pastoral quality in the literature and the architecture of the country. Had so much of Sequeira's work not been thwarted or destroyed, he would probably today have a much wider international reputation. As it is he was never surpassed by any Portuguese painter of the nineteenth century.

II

Portuguese building in the Atlantic and the eastern empire is still an almost uncharted territory. In the Azores and in Madeira, where at least two important Manueline churches have been preserved, the regular succession of mainland styles can be traced in more detail perhaps than anywhere else outside of continental Portugal. Such a study would be especially welcome, not only for the light it might shed upon the development of regional architectural units within a general architectural style, but also for whatever effect they may have exercised upon Brazilian architecture. Throughout the colonial period there was a coming and going between the Azores and the ports of the great American colony and a migration from the islands to Brazil that may well have introduced certain Atlantic elements into the architecture of Portuguese America.⁵ On this subject as yet no one is equipped to speak.⁶

With regard to Africa, Portuguese fortifications were strewn along the coasts of the route to India in the heroic period of the discoveries and the subsequent age of administration. How much of this building from the time of João I to the close of the eighteenth century has survived is still to all but a few observant Portuguese naval officers and colonial civil servants a tantalizing mystery.⁷ Certainly published hints to the solution of the problem are exceedingly scarce and hard to find. In the Arquivo Histórico Colonial at Lisbon, there are a few drawings like the eighteenth-century pictorial map of Taumaturgo de Brito which indicate houses, churches, and convents strikingly similar to the simplest type of construction that the Portuguese used in Brazil in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are several examples of the characteristic *apêndice* or tiled roofed porch supported by two sturdy columns that is so frequently discovered in the paintings of Frans Post and which is still to be seen in such Brazilian country chapels as S. José de Genipapo (Baía) and S. Miguel (S. Paulo). An illustrated map of Luanda,⁸ the capital of Angola, from the early nineteenth century, reveals a

monumental public fountain erected for the acclamation of D. João VI, which is strikingly similar to that of D. Maria I constructed several decades earlier in the waterfront square of Rio de Janeiro. Just such a square formed the center of Luanda, like the Terreiro do Paço in Lisbon. The whole arrangement indicates an imperial concept of town planning uniting the mother country with its colonies.

Velha Goa alone of the cities of the Portuguese empire possesses a collection of monumental buildings comparable to those of Salvador, the old capital of Brazil. But the splendid Indian metropolis, since the removal of the administration to Pangim, has declined, like Antigua de Guatemala, Portobello or Comayagua, almost to the status of an abandoned city. In spite of its obvious historic importance and exotic appeal, most travelers have given us only cursory descriptions of its architecture.⁹ One writer has made brilliant use of the unusually detailed notes that João Nicolau da Fonseca provided¹⁰ to discover the original appearance of the cathedral, the half dozen imposing churches and convents, and the very few viceregal buildings that remain.¹¹ But there is still a need for a thorough study of Goa and the other sites in India with plans, elevations, and photographs, a study based upon Fonseca's sources and written from the standpoint of the architectural historian.

Against such a record of scholarly inactivity a recent publication, which in a more developed field would arouse only the mildest interest, deserves special attention and praise. It is Padre Manuel Teixeira's *A fachada de S. Paulo* (Macau, Imprensa nacional, 1940, 57 pp., 10 figs.), a monograph devoted to the principal architectural attraction of the farthest outpost of Portuguese authority in the East. The author, a canon of the cathedral of Macau, writes as an amateur historian on a subject virtually forgotten since Sir Andrew Ljungstedt published his scanty notes in 1839.¹² Four years before the latter's book appeared a disastrous fire had destroyed the great church of the Jesuits of Macau, leaving only the imposing granite façade which is just discernible in Pendleton's lithograph, issued as the frontispiece of Sir Andrew's book, and in some other topographical views of the Portuguese emporium across from Hong-kong.

The history of the Madre de Deus, or S. Paulo as it was also called, is here carefully set forth from the accounts of a succession of travelers and religious chroniclers. It is illustrated by a number of drawings prepared by Baron von Reichenau, which if not ideal as a basis for the study of its sumptuous architectural detail, are quite preferable to the bad photographs that usually adorn such books. In his text Padre Teixeira leaves the reader to draw his own stylistic conclusions.

The façade of São Paulo of Macau, constructed between 1601 and 1640, is one more example of how the Jesuits succeeded in injecting over and over again purely Italianate forms into the stream of Portuguese architecture. Their sixteenth-century church of S. Roque in Lisbon is the finest instance of the strict Counter-Reformation style in Portugal. This was a building which had the broadest influence on much of the early religious architecture of Brazil. The Jesuit-trained architect Ludovice provided in the early eighteenth-century palace and church of Mafra the first clear demonstration in the Peninsula of the theory of eighteenth-century Neo-Palladianism. Another Jesuit architect, G. B. Primoli, transferred it to the mission of S. Miguel in southern Brazil. In each case the Jesuit influence favored Italian restraint and handsome sobriety as a check on the ebull-

5. Gilberto Freyre, *Sugestões para o estudo histórico-social do sobrado no Rio Grande do Sul* (Congresso sul-riograndense de história e geografia, III, Anais), Porto Alegre, Instituto histórico e geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul, 1940, I, p. 934.

6. In 1934 Rafael García Granados first called attention to the presence of Manueline ornaments in the lateral doorway of the Franciscan church at Huejotzingo in the State of Puebla, Mexico (*Huejotzingo. La Ciudad y el Convento Franciscano*, Mexico, 1934, p. 157). Mr. George Kubler has recently called my attention to the use of Manueline forms elsewhere in Mexico during the first half of the sixteenth century: at Texcoco, Atlixco, Tlaxcala, Calpan, Otumba, and in Tenochtitlan-México itself, where Diego Díaz of Lisbon signed and dated a stone window frame of his manufacture in 1535.

7. One important seventeenth-century source for information on Portuguese constructions in the East is the series of views in G. Braun's great illustrated atlas, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Coloniae, 1612-18, I, pp. 54-58). G. and I. Blaeu's *Le théâtre du monde* (Amsterdam, 1638-40) also offers a number of maps and views of Portuguese sites in India and Africa.

8. Reproduced: *História da expansão portuguesa no mundo*, Lisbon, 1942, p. 324.

9. Maurice Collis, *The Land of the Great Image*, New York, 1943; Sacheverell Sitwell, *Spanish Baroque Art*, London, 1931.

10. José Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archeological Sketch of the City of Goa preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, Bombay, 1878.

11. G. E. Hutchinson, *The Clear Mirror: a Pattern of Life in Goa and in Indian Tibet*, Cambridge, Eng., 1936.

12. *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China*, Boston, 1839.

lient proto-Baroque tendencies of Portuguese form. In certain Spanish American communities, it may be noted that the architects of the Company had played quite an opposite rôle (Quito, Tepozotlán, Puebla).

Such was the sumptuous course which the Jesuits adopted at Macau. Their Italian architect, Carlo Spinola, chose for S. Paulo the typical Roman Jesuit façade of coupled and engaged columns alternating with statues in niches, a form virtually unknown in contemporary Portuguese architecture. This he expanded in Macau to four superposed orders, thus exceeding by a full tier of columns the three which Martel-Ange and Durrand were then employing at the Jesuit church of St. Paul-St. Louis in Paris. Upon this enormous Renaissance framework stands an assemblage of statues, reliefs, and diverse architectural sculpture that produces an effect of overwhelming richness. The façade repeats an arrangement already worked out at the Jesuit church of Bom Jesus in Goa (1594-1604), where the architect may well have been an Italian like Carlo Spinola. In fact, at Goa, Italianism was so rampant in the seventeenth century, the great age of local building, that the architects of S. Caetano dared to reproduce in miniature the façade and cupola of St. Peter's itself. The cathedral of Goa, completed in 1631, has a "Jesuit" façade in three orders.¹³ Finally an almost identical treatment was given the church of the Company at Luanda in Angola.¹⁴

Thus there exists in the Oriental empire a nucleus of early sixteenth-century buildings which are stylistically far removed from the contemporary expression of the architecture of the mother country. This is the more significant when it is recalled that at the time of their erection Portuguese architecture was undergoing, as Reynaldo dos Santos has shown, one of its temporary cycles of eclipse, both because of the removal of supreme authority from Lisbon to Madrid and because of the dominance of a foreign style. The characteristics of these Oriental façades are probably to be explained by the presence of a great many foreign Jesuits within the framework of the Order at Macau and Goa (Louis XIV gave their Chinese church an elaborate clock) and the considerable local wealth. That these richly sculptured façades were a phenomenon of the seventeenth century is suggested by the existence in Macau and elsewhere of a number of typically Portuguese Baroque churches of the eighteenth century, that of the seminary of S. José in Macau being a perfect example of the local style of the north of Portugal.¹⁵

The most interesting aspect of the façade of S. Paulo is its decorative sculpture, which through vivid movement offers a Baroque contrast to the Renaissance forms of the architecture. Representations of the Holy Spirit, Christ, the Virgin and Her symbols, allegories of temptation, damnation, and salvation, rivaling in their intricacy the figures and episodes of a Buddhist pantheon, are a missionary revival of the full didactic use of iconography on the exterior of a mediaeval church. The symbols themselves bring to mind those of certain colonial Spanish American structures. The presence of sun and moon in low relief in the pediment proves that this iconographic formula was not a peculiarity of the Andean Baroque alone. The decorative use of the sculptured symbols of the Virgin recalls a similar use of saintly attributes on the façade of the cathedral of Comayagua. The kneeling angels and chaplet of stars around the niche of the Madre de Deus are reminiscent of certain conventions the Jesuits developed in Paraguay, if not in the stone of church façades, at least in wooden retables. The flat stylized palm trees elsewhere on the front of S. Paulo bring to mind others in Central America. These similarities are proof that the Jesuits and other churchmen as well fell back upon a well worn

iconographic convention in equipping their great missionary churches for both American Indians and Chinese at two extremes of the Baroque world. Stylistically the decorative sculpture at Macau has much in common with similar work in Latin America. In both, indigenous elements of design and technique survive within the naturalistic European patterns. At Macau both the bronze statues and stone reliefs clearly show the hand of the Japanese Christians who are said to have made them. In the folds of drapery, the Oriental dragon of the symbol of Immaculate Conception and the sails of the sculptured Portuguese galleon on the façade of S. Paulo there is a flat, linear grace which is as foreign to the European canons of the time as was the delineation of the figures of the Frenchmen in the contemporary frescoes of the palace of Čihil Sutūn at Isfahan.

III

As the Portuguese empire in the East declined in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the former colony of Brazil grew in political and economic importance. The great age of building was later there. It occurred in the eighteenth century, when the capital was removed to Rio de Janeiro, and the mines of Minas Gerais and the missions of Rio Grande do Sul reached their full development. In recent years there has been a far reaching movement to preserve and study this colonial heritage of Brazilian art. That it has been singularly successful has been largely due to the work of the Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (S.P.H.A.N.) which the government established in 1937 under the direction of Dr. Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade. Since then a campaign of preservation has been carried on in each of these centers, an invaluable photographic record, like that of the Academy in Portugal, has been established, six issues of a distinguished yearbook, the *Revista*, and ten monographs on Brazilian art have been published by S.P.H.A.N. At the same time, scholars have been producing a constantly increasing array of fine articles and books on different aspects of Brazilian art.

The last of the Serviço's monographs commemorates the restoration of an important eighteenth-century church in Rio de Janeiro (*A igreja de Nossa Senhora da Glória do Outeiro*, Rio de Janeiro, Ministério da educação e saúde, 1943, 59 pp., 41 figs.). The volume is an example of how the Serviço calls upon the best minds in Brazil for aid in its work. The historical preface is by Dr. Afrânio Peixoto, one of the great literary figures of Brazil. The collection of views of the church painted and lithographed between 1818 and 1870, which is offered as an *intermezzo* in the volume, was made by the distinguished collector and student of *costumbrista* art, Dr. R. de Castro Maya. Finally the photographs were taken by two of the best Brazilian photographers at work today, K. Vosylius and Marcel A. Gautherot. The result of their collaboration is a most valuable contribution to the study of Portuguese art. Its only defect is the absence of a bibliography.

The Glória church in Rio de Janeiro deserved special attention not only because of its historic connection with the imperial court but for the style of its construction as well. Its plan is that of a twelve-sided polygon. The narrow façade is prefaced by a high tower with a vaulted entrance. This disposition seems to be unique in the colonial architecture of Brazil, where the churches were generally rectangular in plan and the towers were placed at the sides, not in front of the façade. Such a position for the tower, extremely rare in Portugal, occurs, however, in the mediaeval cathedral of Faro in the province of Algarve.

The problem of dating the Glória is complicated by the disappearance of all documents prior to the nineteenth century from the church archive. Among the remaining papers, there is no reference to the years of the original construction. Two usually accurate literary sources are in conflict on the dating, for one places it at the beginning of the eighteenth century, while the

13. G. Evelyn Hutchinson has already recognized the un-Portuguese character of these buildings (*op. cit.*, p. 18). They are reproduced in Caetano Gracías, *Velha Goa*, 2nd ed., Bastoria, 1931.

14. For the present appearance of the church see *Diário de Luanda*, ano 13, No. 3254, August 15, 1943.

15. Reproduced: *Anuário de Macau*, Macau, 1927, p. 116.

other assigns it to the middle of the century. A third authority, referred to as Cônego Freire, gives the date 1781, but it can be dismissed as too late because of the style of the building.

On the basis of internal evidence, the S.P.H.A.N. historians have dated the church about 1714. One is inclined to accept their decision because of the extreme sobriety of most of the architectural details, which have simple geometrical ornament instead of the elaborate Rococo decoration which prevailed in Rio de Janeiro after the late 1720's. The structure may well be a late occurrence of that transitional style between the formalism of D. Pedro II's buildings in Lisbon and the new Rococo naturalism of D. João V which obtained in the first years of the century. There is a striking resemblance between the eight-sided nave of N. S. da Glória and the octagonal interior of the church of Menino Deus, a transitional Lisbon building of about 1711. The 1714 dating would place the Brazilian church conveniently close to the stream of metropolitan Portuguese development and clearly establish its priority to the series of polygonal and oval church interiors erected in Minas Gerais in the middle and at the end of the century, which may have been influenced by this important building. It is logical to suppose the group of full Rococo doorways in N. S. da Glória, as well as certain details of woodwork, were added in a remodeling of about 1781, thus accounting for the mistake in dating made by Canon Freire.

The last issue of the *Revista do Serviço do patrimônio histórico e artístico nacional*, which bears the imprint of 1942, although it was not published until the following year, is the best that has yet appeared. It offers ten studies, of which nine are monographs on different aspects of Brazilian art. There is one devoted to pre-conquest art, seven to the art of the colonial period, and one to the nineteenth century. All of these are well illustrated, carefully documented, and beautifully printed. This issue, like all its predecessors, is devoted entirely to the art of Brazil. The only other Latin American fine arts periodical that approaches it, the Mexican *Anales del Instituto de investigaciones estéticas*, with one or two exceptions, has limited itself to Mexican art. By so doing, both publications have brought a special prestige to the study of their national art both at home and abroad. In the United States only the recently founded *Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians* is following a similar policy. A periodical like the *Revista* and the *Anales*, devoted to all aspects of our own artistic achievement, might prove a valuable incentive to greater research in the field of United States art and give rise to a much wider interest in other countries in what we here have produced.

Four articles in this issue of the Brazilian *Revista* are outstanding for their content, their handling of material, and their implications for the general study of the art of Brazil. Hannah Levy's *A pintura colonial no Rio de Janeiro* presents for the first time a series of seventeenth and eighteenth-century paintings, which if not of great intrinsic merit, are important for their relation to the contemporary art of Portugal.¹⁶ Several of the colonial portraits are closely related to the seventeenth-century school revealed in the Lisbon exhibition. The author has demonstrated in her study a most effective use of published source material and has skillfully analyzed a mass of material in the light of post-Tridentine iconography.

Alberto Rangel's *Album de Highcliffe* restores to the patrimony of Brazilian art a collection of drawings of early nineteenth-century Brazilian views and figures by Charles Landseer, Sir Edwin's older brother. These drawings, of great charm and minute observation, are among the most valuable for documentary purposes of the work of the so-called *costumbrista* artists who illustrated Brazil more carefully than any other Latin American country for the benefit of the *amateurs* of Europe. Their publication brings to mind the fine group of unedited contemporary drawings and watercolors of Brazil at the His-

16. See the catalogue, *Personagens portuguesas do século XVI*, Lisbon, 1942.

panic Society in New York which present an ideal subject for some future issue of this journal. In *A prataria seiscentista do mosteiro de São Bento do Rio de Janeiro*, D. Clemente Maria da Silva Nigra O.S.B. offers a catalogue of the really magnificent ecclesiastical silver of the house of his Order in Rio. Portuguese in origin, these pieces belong to the art of the mother country rather than to the later Brazilian silver which Godofredo Filho and Osvaldo Valente have been studying in Baía and Francisco Marques dos Santos in Rio de Janeiro.

Finally there is *O Colégio de Santo Alexandre* by the Portuguese Jesuit, Serafim Leite. This study of documents related to the college and church of the Company in Belém do Pará determines the date 1718 as the year the building was inaugurated.

Although this was the third structure on the site, only the name of the architect of the second church is yet known. But from an inventory of 1760, the names of several craftsmen have come to light. One of these was João Xavier Traer, of Brixen in the Tyrol (1668-1737), who seems to have been the principal sculptor. It is tempting to see him as the creator of the two handsome pulpits of the Pará church, with a strong flavor of that Austrian Baroque, which at this time was making itself felt both at the court in Lisbon and in distant Chile, thanks to the efforts of the Portuguese queen, D. Mariana de Habsburgo.

Finally, Padre Leite's definite dating of this great Jesuit church by the Amazon raises the question of its relation to the other buildings of the Company in Brazil. The narrow high façade rising to four stories is a distinct departure from the generally low and sprawling Jesuit constructions. The towers, as Lúcio Costa has remarked,¹⁷ are lost behind the enormous intruding volutes that form the pediment. Both these features recall the Oriental Jesuit churches of the seventeenth century at Goa and Macau. The fact that Belém's principal rival, the Jesuit church of Salvador, has the same characteristics, might indicate that when the Company in Brazil built its greatest temples the famous Eastern structures were not overlooked. At Pará, however, the Jesuit architects may have compromised by not abandoning the Portuguese towers and by omitting the engaged orders of the churches at Goa and Macau. The peculiar decoration of the Pará façade, which consists of raised targes on the outer pilasters and lozenges and broad floral designs on the inner ones and about the doors, is in striking contrast to the strict sobriety of previous Jesuit buildings in Brazil.

This may be a reflection of the heavily decorated façades of the Company in the East. Certainly the work is crude, the details coarse and heavy. It is the treatment of an inexperienced architect, as Philip Goodwin has indicated.¹⁸ This would tend to bear out the surmise that the Belém builder went as far as his limited resources permitted in introducing a new sumptuousness in imitation of what more skillful craftsmen had produced for his Order in the East. Given the importance of this church and its dating early in the eighteenth century, we may also surmise that the building was not without influence on a group of later colonial churches in the north of Brazil whose façades are richly decorated with floral and geometric sculpture.¹⁹

Whoever writes with any degree of finality upon Brazilian art will have to face the problems of relationship both with the mother country and with the outposts of an Atlantic, African, and Oriental empire. It is a subject that is peculiarly challenging not only for its exotic implications but also because the whole question of Lusitanian production is one of the last frontiers of the history of art.

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Library of Congress

17. "A arquitetura jesuítica no Brasil," *Revista do Serviço do patrimônio histórico e artístico nacional*, No. 5, 1941, p. 35.

18. *Brazil Builds*, New York, 1943, p. 76. See reproduction.

19. Ayrton Carvalho, "Algumas notas sobre o uso da pedra na arquitetura religiosa do nordeste," *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, No. 6, pp. 277-294.

LUITPOLD DUSSLER, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, Basel, Holbein-Verlag, 1942. Pp. 224; 116 pls.

I stumble over the very first sentence in the preface of Dussler's book, "A new monograph on the painter Sebastiano del Piombo needs no justification." To my way of thinking, research is not an autonomous realm within which any problem, that of an artist of secondary interest included, can be allowed to assume disproportionate importance. Such an attitude as Dussler's belongs to the stage, now left behind, of economic abundance, and demands revision. In the field of art history, as in others, a more planned economy seems unavoidable. Each individual study should fit into a general pattern not drawn, to be sure, by a "leader" or by any other appointed or self-appointed agency, but established by a conscientious and responsible examination of the needs existing in the field of studies in question. A monograph on an individual artist, too, needs its intrinsic justification. It is self-evident that any given artist's activity is the outgrowth of individual conditions which, however, are so closely connected with general forces that in most cases the individual existence remains absorbed into the typical. Only where the individual transcends the typical does the need for a monograph exist. Such a need thus depends in part on the author's ability to discern the individual traits and in part, I believe, predominantly, on the size and richness of the personality in question. The greater the artist, the greater the necessity to readjust our interpretation of him to ever changing currents of thought. Thus every new generation will have to rewrite the life of each great artist.

For Sebastiano del Piombo, the distinction of a monograph is claimed in view of two facts. On the one hand, some of his works have been attributed to Giorgione and Raphael. On the other hand, he has been declared a mere plagiarist of Michelangelo. Both these contentions are confusing, and they do not represent Sebastiano's merits so much as they signify the demerits of the connoisseurs and students who have dealt with him. If they prove anything about his human weight and artistic essence, it is only that his individuality lacks the definition with which to resist the encroachments of more powerful neighbors.

Dussler's interest in him, therefore, is predominantly negative. He is less bent on clarifying what is Sebastiano's than in establishing what is not by others. This is indubitably a quite legitimate interest, since it helps to purge the inflated *oeuvres* of really important artists. But much of this critical weeding had already been achieved in recent decades. Sebastiano's drawings were tested by Wickhoff and Berenson, on whose findings Dussler relies in most cases. And the paintings were verified by Benkard, Gombosi, Pallucchini, and Wilde, whose results Dussler accepts for Sebastiano's early period. His later works, on the other hand, either have been neglected in recent scholarship or left to the mercy of the Michelangelo specialists. For this period, Dussler is more independent. With strong arguments he refutes the efforts to give the credit for all of Sebastiano's great achievements to Michelangelo, who according to others provided him with a design for every creation. This notion is equally erroneous from an historical and from a psychological point of view. It is to be hoped that it will definitely be dismissed by Dussler's careful and sometimes profound analysis of the works in question. The Michelangelesque touch in them is due to Sebastiano's devoted penetration of the master's art, and not to slavish imitation of individual models. Sebastiano, like so many others, thrived artistically on the soil prepared by Michelangelo's art, and if occasionally he approached him closer than they did, the reason is that for many years he had enjoyed intimate contact with the admired master. Nevertheless, he integrated this inspiration in an artistic personality not only wholly his own, but even in some respects unique.

With Sebastiano, we encounter a Venetian brought up in the fold of Giorgione and very soon deserting this camp to turn into

a fiery partisan of the Roman School; we meet an artist burning with ambition, who may have left Venice because he refused to take the second place behind Titian, and yet who willingly submitted to the greater genius of Michelangelo; we have a most promising talent allowing himself to be drowned in the organized laziness and artificial busyness of the literary sets and groups in Rome. All these sides of Sebastiano's personality which demand a psychological, no less than an historical interpretation, have hardly been touched upon by Dussler. It may be conceded that Dussler correctly and strongly stresses the fact that Sebastiano was a Roman born in Venice, and that he was an artist whose innate inclination bore him irresistibly to the place where he could best unfold his faculties. But Dussler fails almost completely to explain Sebastiano's breakdown and resignation. Even when explaining his beginnings in Venice (the phase for which Wilde's and Pallucchini's studies had prepared the ground), Dussler lacks originality and assurance. In the crucial question of the Judgment of Solomon, in Kingston Lacy, he refuses to take sides, unless I fail to understand his over-cautious remarks. If we do not acknowledge Sebastiano's decisive share in the execution of this principal document of Giorgione's invention in his latest period, all further works claimed for the pre-Roman stage of his career must remain unconnected. The resulting uncertainty blinds Dussler to the incongruousness of fitting the Sick Man in the Uffizi (Cat. no. 2183; see Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, ix, 5, fig. 10) into Sebastiano's early Roman years, and it prevents him from accepting the convincing attribution of the portrait by Pallucchini and others to Vittore Belliniano on the ground of its resemblance to the signed portrait formerly in the Coray Collection (Sale Catalogue, Berlin, 1930, no. 1).

If Dussler leaves it unclear whence Sebastiano came, he succeeds still less in elucidating how it happened that his rich promise failed, and that a considerable talent disintegrated. His working methods are not investigated. Was he a lone creator as the example of his idol Michelangelo might have induced him to be, or had he a workshop as his upbringing in Venice and his natural inclination to avoid exertion may have prompted? The existence of various versions of some of his paintings leads one to suppose that he made use of a workshop. The repeated appearance of signed variations in reverse (examples are the Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child, formerly in Albenga and later in New York, which inverts the composition in Naples; or the Christ Carrying the Cross, in the Count Jules Andrassy Collection in Budapest, repeating in reverse and simplifying the version in the Prado), suggest that Sebastiano clung to the habits of his city of origin. Hence, although he was artistically a Roman born in Venice, his working methods continued to be more of a Venetian living in Rome.

As for the drawings, Dussler had the bad luck to become acquainted with Oscar Fischel's basic article ("A New Approach to Sebastiano del Piombo as a Draughtsman," *Old Master Drawings*, September-March, 1939-40), only at a time when his text was already too far advanced to allow a thorough incorporation of its findings. The chapter on the drawings accordingly follows the outlines established by Berenson, while the list of the drawings includes, without much discussion, those discovered by Fischel which opened a new chapter of studies on Sebastiano del Piombo. The strange fact emphasized by Fischel that there are two different and, at first sight, apparently, incompatible sets of drawings ascribed to Sebastiano remains unexplained by Dussler. He also fails to treat the unanswered question propounded at the end of Fischel's article, which suggested the possibility that both sets of drawings may correctly be assigned to Sebastiano.

That Dussler's book published in 1942 could take such belated cognizance of an important article published so many months earlier is, of course, not his fault, but that of the dis-

organization of international learning caused by the war. Many more studies made on both sides of the battle line will suffer from similar defects.

There is, however, another realm where the tremendous convulsions of this last decade become even more noticeable. Appalling havoc has been caused in the German language. It may perhaps sound a little strange that I should mention this in a periodical published in English. Alien authors have lately been taken to task for their poor handling of the newly acquired idiom. They have had difficulty because language is obviously not an independent vehicle, but the exact expression of thought. Men brought up thinking in German — not in German words but in German ideas — will never acquire a way of thinking which precisely corresponds to English phrasing. The best we can hope for is compromise. But conceding that he only reflects a general process, I still reproach Dussler for taking part in the wanton destruction of an instrument created by generations of German thinkers and authors. He introduces into the language of erudition the faulty constructions, snappy syncopations, and artificial vocables which through the writing and speaking of Hitler and his satellites seem to have become common property. Dussler's sentences are sometimes difficult to understand even for a German or Austrian author. They must sound fantastic to a foreign reader. The reconstruction and re-education of Germany will have to include even the purification of the language.

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ALLEN STUART WELLER, *Francesco di Giorgio, 1439-1501*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943. Pp. 430; 118 half-tones. \$10.00.

Allen Weller's *Francesco di Giorgio* is a competent and satisfactory piece of work which the faculty of the University of Chicago quite properly accepted as a doctor's thesis; but only the fact that the author was called into the service and so had inadequate time to transmute his work into a book justifies the University of Chicago Press in publishing this study in its present form. The basic scholarly work has been carefully done; the numerous, hitherto scattered documents are systematically assembled and related to contemporary history; a good bibliography has been well arranged; and Francesco's complete *oeuvre* has been conscientiously reviewed, and more fully so than ever before. The text is even well written, with apparent ease, and occasionally with felicity; and the author has clearly enjoyed his association with the paintings and sculptures of which he writes. But he has not yet had time to meditate on the meaning of his unusually complex material nor to consider the purpose and use of a monograph on an individual artist. The text still retains that dutiful thoroughness which an academic exercise requires, and does not yet have that luminous synthesis which alone gives value to a critical book on art.

To cite a specific example: an excellent analysis of Sieneese draughtsmanship as a whole opens the discussion of the two drawings by Francesco di Giorgio which Captain Weller attributes to the artist's Sieneese period of 1439-1475, an analysis which shows both the author's observant eye and his understanding of an artist's means of expression. This is followed by a detailed description of the persons and objects which appear on the two sheets, together with a certain amount of discursive, though not uninteresting, comment. No one of the four sides is illustrated. The section ends without either a summary of the stylistic implications of these two drawings for Francesco's own artistic development or any linking explanation of their relevance to the whole character of Sieneese draughtsmanship as outlined at the beginning. Thus, after reading six and a half pages, the reader does not feel that he has advanced in his understanding of the artist under discussion.

Illustrations of the drawings were probably omitted for reasons of economy, but economy is always a matter of judgment, and it would have been possible, with more time for consideration, to gain space for reproductions by condensing the text. The author gives good evidence that he would like to have the reader see the works of which he is writing, since he includes a few large, clear details; but he has allowed himself to be persuaded, for example, that a half-tone $4\frac{3}{8}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$ in a sea of white glossy paper, supplemented by a longish description (which also costs money to print), will contribute enough to his reader's understanding of the Stibbert cassone to justify the compromise. Descriptions of pictures which one cannot see at all or of pictures at which one can only guess from inadequate reproductions may be permissible in a catalogue but they are out of place in a book which should give a critical estimate of a man's work and reveal his significance as an artist.

The seeds of a really interesting book on Francesco di Giorgio can be found, however, all the way through the text, and may be briefly noted. Although Captain Weller is probably insufficiently aware of the genuine contributions of Lippi to Francesco's art, he has emphasized, very properly, the importance of the presence in Siena of a group of non-Sieneese miniaturists during Francesco's early years. He has perhaps been a little too ready to accept Perkins' attribution to Francesco of a single choir-book otherwise the work of Lorenzo Rosselli, and he has not realized that, in making this little *Nativity* dependent on the Jarves Girolamo da Cremona, he has been dating that panel and Girolamo's stay in Siena too early; but he is looking in the right direction when he draws our attention to manuscript illumination as a stylistic source for Francesco. Another interesting passage is the relation of the *St. Dorothy with the Christ Child* to German iconographical sources; one would only like to know more about the reasons behind this relationship. The analysis of Francesco's astrology in the *Coronation of 1471* is a fine piece of work, though, again, one deplores the lack of an illustration which shows the top of the picture clearly enough. Then there is the quite reasonable suggestion that the portrait of the hitherto unidentified man at the far right of the *Carmine Pietà* may be Francesco's self-portrait, since it does bear a resemblance to Vasari's woodcut of the artist. In a fresco one would not be surprised to find the artist in this position, but in a relief there is less precedence for his entering the scene as a devotee (especially on so equal a footing with his patron), but the identification is very tempting. The section devoted to Francesco's military architecture in his Urbino period, by its consideration of these structures from both a practical and an aesthetic point of view, reminds us that, in the Renaissance, the artist was not regarded as valueless in war but rather as one of the assets of his country. Another contribution is the reconstruction of a cassone panel from the Griggs and Berenson fragments, which, put together, make up a chess game from some *novella* which one would like to read. And we must be grateful to Captain Weller for being able to see that there is something in the Sala della Pace in Siena of particular interest to the Quattrocento scholar — the perspective paintings of 1491 on the end wall. He has not, perhaps, made the most of Francesco's rôle as a carrier of enthusiasm for perspective, but the significance of these frescoes, at this date, though in so unlikely a place, is notable. A beginning has been made in pointing out the interest for the student of the period of the *Taccuino* and the *Trattato*, but they are little more than catalogued, and are tantalizingly illustrated by only eight reproductions.

The best part of the book is its concluding chapter, *The History of Francesco's Reputation*. This has been compiled with the same scholarship and care as the appendices and the biography, and is, in addition, concise and pithy. Here one comes closer to an idea of the author's concept of his artist than anywhere else, and one is thereby so convinced that the body of the

text could have been raised to a higher temperature, had more time been available, that one can only wish for Captain Weller a second, revised edition after the war is over.

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CHANDLER RATHFON POST, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Vol. VIII, *The Aragonese School in the Late Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1941. 2 parts; pp. xxvi + 774; 358 figs. \$15.00.

The latest volume of the *History of Spanish Painting* treats the Hispano-Flemish paintings of Aragon, perhaps the most essentially Iberian of the several centers of artistic production. Here, as the author warns us, we must expect neither the intellectual content nor the vivacity and urbane grace of other regions, but rather must forego the aesthetic stimulus of meeting the equal of Bermejo or Huguet. Aragon produced no peer of these; indeed she stood unabashed in debt to both, drawing freely upon their separate stores and only rarely compounding the distinct accounts. Nevertheless, no sense of dealing with inferior alloys perturbs the appraiser of these products of Aragon, for her artists were hardy and proud, and their works solid, rich, and golden.

The circumstance of dual indebtedness determines the division of the matter into two chief parts, the first devoted to Bermejo's followers, the second to Huguet's, these introduced and set apart by chapters on their predecessors and disassociated contemporaries, and augmented by notices of less important borrowing. In the first of the main parts, Dr. Post's most impressive achievement is the discrimination of the style and quality of the partners, Martín Bernat and Miguel Jiménez, and his consequent ability to present Jiménez as a master who was not merely an imitator of Bermejo but, in his own right, the *chef d'école*. Bernat, erstwhile rated higher and honored with the choicer attributions, sinks by contrast to a measurably inferior level.

The second part includes a still more important contribution to our knowledge of the history of Spanish painting — the very substantial chapter on Huguet's disciple, Martín de Soria. The substance is the more surprising in that Martín, hitherto almost unknown, emerges as an artist whose "legacy of preserved works is perhaps as extensive as in the case of any other Spanish mediaeval painter." The development of a name without fame and without precisely relevant documentation is made possible by reason of a lucky signature on a single work which, again luckily, is a capacious retablo of individual and readily recognizable style. Professor Post's building of Martín's amazing canon is so solid and sure that it thoroughly sustains the crowning piece — the attribution of the justly famous "Cabot St. George" (fig. 148).

American readers will observe with interest that, among the works discussed in Volume VIII, there are about one hundred — counting detached panels as well as complete altarpieces — in some fifty collections in the United States. As the rich retables of Aragon seem to have been to an extraordinary degree dismembered and disseminated, they offer an exquisite test to the connoisseur. Dr. Post's system is the demonstrably sound method used in the earlier volumes — that of attaching to the best certified attribution first the stout links, then the weaker, and last the most fragile. Hence, at any tenuous link, the series may be broken, reinforced, or augmented. The author constantly draws the attention from text to illustration and, with meticulous care, defends his convictions and explains his doubts. He intends not to burden the acquiescent reader with what he has elsewhere called a "wearisome catalogue of parallelisms" but rather to persuade the skeptical or, failing that, to invite challenge. His most difficult case is admittedly that of Jiménez,

Bernat, and one known only by an alias, the Alfajarín Master, who "in a perplexing group of pictures . . . desperately resemble one another." The conscientious reader, retained in this case as the Devil's advocate, may reasonably argue for the transfer of an attributed painting from one canon to another. Thus I should like to deprive the Alfajarín Master of credit for one of the several panels of St. Blaise — that which once belonged to the late Dr. Valerian Von Loga (fig. 64). Indubitably related to the Lécera and Madrid paintings of the same subject and to the Lérida St. Martin (figs. 63, 65, 66), the Berlin work has greater mass and evinces a more subtle skill in subordinating the throne to the figure. It betrays no such extravagant passion for schematization as appears in the thyroid cartilage in the other panels; it seems less like an icon. Since the Berlin St. Blaise appears to me to be a frontal version of the St. Fabian from Sijena (fig. 40), which it resembles in respect to the benign countenance, the decoration of the orphreys and the staff, the form of the iron comb, and the characteristic pattern of the pavement, I suggest that it is the work of Miguel Jiménez. This St. Blaise was inspired, as were the others, by Bermejo's Santo Domingo de Silos (Vol. V, fig. 28); but it is at once more independent of the source and more nearly approximate to it in quality.

If the Lécera and Madrid versions were made on Jiménez's cartoon, this circumstance would not be surprising, for observation reveals that, line for line, the Alfajarín Master derived the work that gave him his title, the Madonna of Montserrat at Alfajarín (fig. 61), from Jiménez's Madonna of Villadoz (fig. 37), who is likewise attended by St. Anthony Abbot, or possibly from an unknown original copied by both masters. The second alternative is perhaps the more attractive because the Villadoz Madonna is not, but was evidently designed to be, a *Virgen de la Leche*. The decision to cover the Virgin's breast may have been made suddenly while the painting was in progress. But we may reasonably presume a lost work of Bermejo which prefigured the Almenas Nursing Madonna (Vol. V, fig. 53) and inspired those of Villadoz, Alfajarín, and the Ermita of Magallón (fig. 100). A fourth work that, in a different way, suggests the Almenas panel is the Madonna Caressing the Child in the Milá Collection at Barcelona (fig. 21). Here the throne reproduces inexactly that of the Villadoz Madonna and faithfully that which appears in the Somzée Martyrdom of a Bishop (fig. 75). The resemblance of the Milá Madonna to the Virgin of Bernat's authentic Epiphany of Tarazona (fig. 16) tends to dispel the slight doubt that Dr. Post expressed when he placed the Milá fragment in the catalogue of Bernat. At the same time, I feel that certain characteristics of its style — the outlining of the hands and of the Virgin's dimpled chin, the modeling of the sole of the Child's foot, and the stiff folds of His opaque drapery — are again apparent in the Alfajarín Madonna. Moreover, the winding approaches to the shrine in the Madonna of Montserrat, though less minutely treated, recall the similar steep vistas in the Tarazona Epiphany. Disregarding the hypothetical Bermejo prototype, I could well believe that the Alfajarín Master, in this, his key work, assumed Bernat's manner and borrowed Jiménez's Villadoz cartoon. If he was indebted to the partners, he would then presumably have executed this painting in the 1480's and would thus lose his demonstrably feeble claim to the name of Tomás Giner. Conversely, the denuded name of Giner would have no very evident right to be included among those of Bermejo's pupils. The equation of Bernat and the Alfajarín Master was vaguely suggested by Dr. Post in his discussion of the Mass of St. Gregory at Philadelphia (fig. 80), the last and most fragile link in the long chain of the Alfajarín Master's attributed works. Here the author conceded that Bernat may have had "better moments." By making liberal allowance for the ameliorating influence of Bermejo and Jiménez, we may assume that such "better mo-

ments" were more frequent than we have supposed. The Alfajarín Master may thus be a personification of the Bernat-Jiménez collaboration, manifest in works wherein the former supplied the labor while the more gifted artist provided the designs and the ultimate brush strokes.

At least one other painting attributed to the Alfajarín Master implies such combined operations — the Dijon Consecration of an Episcopal Saint (fig. 71). The faces of the prelates, deacons, and bystanders herein portrayed are discovered among the crowd sheltered by the mantle of Our Lady of Mercy at Tarazona, a documented work of Bernat (fig. 15). Though Professor Post has conclusively shown that the Hispanic Society's Consecration of St. Martin (fig. 79) never belonged to the altarpiece dedicated to St. Augustine in the monastery at Saragossa, he does not convince me that a part of the lost work may not be discovered in the Dijon panel. The latter is perhaps no more like the Huguet painting recommended as a model to Bernat and Jiménez than these mature disciples of Bermejo would have deigned to make it; but it recalls the clause in the contract that obliged the artists to accept Huguet's embossed gold backgrounds as a precedent. Exceptional among Aragonese works, the Dijon painting has a gold ground rendered in "lightly relieved stucco." Can this aberration from custom signify the painters' grudging concession to the patrons' stipulation?

As a corollary to Dr. Post's account of the obligation of Jiménez's son-in-law to use as a model the retable of St. Martin that Miguel had made for S. Pablo, Saragossa (fig. 33), I note that the lateral panel of the St. Martin altarpiece which portrays St. John the Evangelist was the direct source of the painting of the same subject now in the church of Santos Juan y Pedro (fig. 99). The derivative work is attributed to an anonymous painter, provisionally called the Arnoult Master, who certainly may not, on such slender evidence, appropriate the name of the son-in-law, Jaime Serrat. Nevertheless, the possibility of eventual identification is worth reconnoitering, for the Arnoult Master's rare propensity for combining the style of Jiménez with that of Huguet's Aragonese followers is a characteristic to be expected of the younger generation of Jiménez's followers. I believe that the Arnoult Master, like the Alfajarín, will fail to prove that he was Tomás Giner. In the open contest for this name, even the Master of the Prelate Mur may have a sporting chance. At least, we know that Giner was employed at Alfajarín in 1467, when a Doña Sancha de Mur was the wife of the ruler of that town; the Prelate's Master, active at approximately the right date, won his title solely because he included the Mur escutcheon in one of his paintings. The problem of Giner's personality is wisely left in abeyance.

This *History of Spanish Painting* is everywhere animated by judicious speculation tempered by the brave restraint that suspends judgment. Never does the author permit theory to wear the attractive masque of established fact. But perhaps he might have offered hope that the "lost or . . . not yet recognized" pinnacle of the Bacri Master's St. Blaise at Plainfield (fig. 11) is the Trinity of the Bosch Collection illustrated on a succeeding page (fig. 14). The retable of St. Lucy that was companion to the St. Blaise is still surmounted by a pinnacle which treats "the old Romanesque theme of the Pantocrator in a mandorla girt by the four signs of the Evangelists." At Soria and Tudela, both close to the borders of Aragon, I have seen Romanesque sculptured tympana of iconography curious in that the Trinity takes the place occupied by the Pantocrator in related monuments. Thus, when the Bacri Master wished to play a slight variation upon his theme, he would have had a precedent at hand. The Prado panel has a frame like that of the St. Lucy pinnacle, but it is "negligibly larger." The theory of companionship may be tested by determining whether the principal panels are in the same infinitesimal measure discrepant.

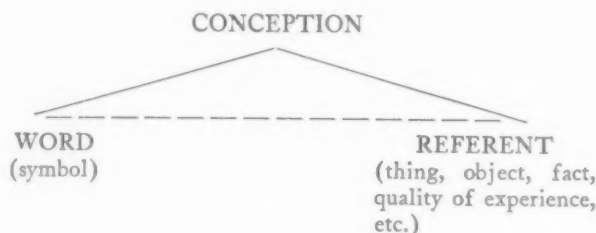
Because the Appendix, with its copious addenda to the previous volumes, follows the text, I speak of it last, though I know that Professor Post's readers, eagerly awaiting the expulsion of doubt, the confirmation of suspicion, and the naming of the anonymous, frequently turn to the Appendices first. Inevitably they do so in the case of Volume VIII, for they have long anticipated the moment when the Master of St. George would reveal himself as Bernardo Martorell. They learn that the painter of the retable of Púbol, once described as the most intimate disciple of the Master of St. George and now recognized as the Master himself, did, in fact, bear Bernardo Martorell's name. The confirming document was discovered by Señor Durán y Sanpere, one of several Spanish scholars whose assiduous efforts to assist the author pay him precious and merited compliment. Readers are further rewarded by an addition to Martorell's canon — the Johnson Collection Madonna, one of his "finest and most arresting creations" (fig. 291) — and by a concise chronological account of his splendid exploits. The gradually developing story of Bernardo, traced from its inception in Volume II and through the Appendices of the succeeding volumes, declares the wisdom of the author's cautious method which precludes the need of demolition and facilitates the exhilarating process of construction.

DELPHINE FITZ DARBY

BERNARD C. HEYL, *New Bearings in Esthetics and Art Criticism — A Study in Semantics and Evaluation*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943. Pp. xii + 172. \$2.50.

Professor Heyl has attempted the difficult dual task of analyzing some of the worst semantic confusions in criticism and aesthetics, and of defending a "relativistic" theory of critical judgment. His analysis of current confusions seems to me itself often very confused, and his relativistic position largely unsatisfactory. Nonetheless, the book deserves serious attention because it examines so explicitly and resolutely problems of major importance to critics and philosophers of art. Professor Heyl is certainly right when he insists that "whether one is an esthetician, an art critic, or an art historian, meaning and evaluation should be major sources of interest. The semantic problems in writings about art have rarely, if at all, been considered, and the problems in evaluation, while by no means new ones, require periodic restatement and discussion. Both types of problems, unfortunately, are major sources of difficulty and confusion" (p. v).

Part I deals with problems of meaning. In an introductory chapter on "The Semantic Background," the author quotes with approval S. K. Langer's distinction between signs and symbols. Signs "announce their objects," standing "in a one-to-one correlation," whereas symbols are "vehicles for the conception of objects" (p. 5); they directly "mean" the conceptions of things, not the things themselves, thus:



Hence words have "no direct one-to-one connection with facts" (p. 7). This is least true of "object-words" like "red" and "go," most true of such words as "beauty," "art," and "value." These words "have never stood for specific referents, but have rather been a part of a series of contexts, the meanings of which are constantly shifting to a greater or smaller degree" (p. 8).

Hence the folly of attempting "real" definitions which "pretend to reveal the 'true nature,' 'ultimate characteristic,' 'whatness,' 'Essence,' or 'Reality' of their referents" (p. 10), or even "any special qualities which are the 'true,' 'real,' or 'essential' ones" (p. 11). Witness "the depressing spectacle of authors attempting to teach what a poem or a picture, what art or beauty *is*, to reveal, that is to say, its ontological nature" (p. 12). The wise author, in contrast, will restrict himself to "volitional" definitions. These "are about language; they define words, not things; they do not assert facts, and hence do not raise issues of truth and falsehood" (p. 13). Volitional definitions are good in proportion as they satisfy J. C. Reid's criteria. They "should be '(1) clear and intelligible, (2) as convenient or useful as possible in dealing with a given subject-matter, and (3) should as nearly conform to established usage, if any, as is compatible with clarity and usefulness in the context'" (p. 15). But the third criterion is admitted to have "a minimum of bearing upon the crucial terms of esthetics and art criticism because . . . the meanings of these terms . . . are exceptionally unfixed and unstable" (p. 16). The second criterion would also seem to be inapplicable, if not meaningless, since "volitional" definitions are about language, not things, i.e., not about any subject-matter. Nonetheless, the author announces that "the remainder of this essay attempts to interpret correctly [*sic!*] various uses . . . of the words 'art,' 'beauty,' and 'truth'" (p. 18), presumably by means of volitional definitions which may be "arbitrary in the sense of being deliberately chosen," but "never unnecessarily or excessively arbitrary," definitions which "cannot reasonably be considered true or false" but which "may certainly be considered sensible or foolish" (p. 15).

He proceeds to demonstrate the error of the "absolutists" who insist on attempting "real" definitions, and the wisdom of those who restrict themselves to "volitional" definitions, by citing various "competent and intelligent" authors who disagree radically concerning the nature of "art" and "beauty." The author's solution is simple. "Why should there be a single subject of study called 'esthetics'?" [But note the title of his own book!] . . . If this view were accepted, the endless and futile debates about the 'right' relation of art and beauty to esthetics might cease . . ." (p. 25). Writers should also stop using "sentences beginning 'art or beauty is,'" and write instead, "'By art and beauty I mean such and such'" (p. 26) or "'I arbitrarily define beauty as . . .'" (p. 27). Collingwood, Croce, Coomaraswamy, J. C. Ransom, Venturi and Stace are all quoted for their illegitimate use of "real" definitions.

The problem of "artistic truth" is dealt with at length along similar lines. The author admits the desirability of defining truth volitionally, though he accuses me of "verbal legerdemain" and of resorting to "a remarkable and unjustifiable procedure" when I choose to define a work of art as a "non-conceptual proposition" (p. 54, note 97). Apparently our definitions should be volitional but not dictated by our own volitions. Various conceptions of truth are then examined in turn. (1) Truth "interpreted scientifically" is said (volitionally?) to be "of slight importance in any sensible esthetic system" (p. 57). (2) Truth as "artistic sincerity" is acceptable "as being virtually obvious" (p. 60). (3) Truth as "artistic consistency" (a view quite incorrectly ascribed by the author to the present reviewer — I can only refer him back to Chapter XXIII of *The Arts and the Art of Criticism*, from which he quotes at length, but without any attention to my repeated insistence on the rôle of "correspondence") is described (volitionally?) as "superfluous," "unfortunate" and "equivocal." (4) Truth as "artistic insight" "tends to become of subsidiary interest when the meaning of 'artistic significance' is understood, accepted, and dissociated from the several meanings of 'artistic truth'" (p. 87). The author concludes that "many of the difficulties inherent in the problem of artistic truth are semantic" and that "it is both unnecessary

and undesirable to use the epithet 'artistic truth' in esthetics and in art criticism" (p. 87).

Part II deals with problems in evaluation in terms of three contrasting positions, namely, "objectivism," "subjectivism," and "relativism." Objectivism is defined as holding that "a definite amount of value resides intrinsically in the object in the sense that the value has ontological subsistence." The objectivist critic "will believe in the existence of absolute, ultimate standards which lie outside or above human evaluations, will maintain that there is one and only one correct taste, and will strive for that objective rightness of judgment which, given his assumptions, must exist" (p. 93). Against this position are cited the widespread disagreement of competent critics, the folly of "the metaphysical chase for a non-existent entity," i.e., beauty or aesthetic quality, and the difficulties in the way of determining objective aesthetic values by reference to the intention of the artist. The arguments in favor of objectivism are therefore declared to be "either unsound or unintelligible or both" and the goal of objectivity to be "esthetically and psychologically dangerous" (p. 118). Belief in the objectivity of aesthetic values must therefore be "entirely rejected."

The subjectivistic position, that value is merely "an immediate emotional state which delights, as a 'felt satisfaction,' as a 'feeling present to attention,'" and that evaluations are "a matter solely of individual personal preferences" (p. 120), is similarly rejected. "Any criticism . . . which seeks a more definite and substantial foundation for appraisals will repudiate as *inadequate* all subjective insights" (p. 122). Expressions of such insights are not critical judgments at all but mere exclamations of approval or disapproval.

The "relativism" defended by the author is one "which avoids the mythical absolute values of the objectivist and the irresponsible preferences of the subjectivist through new interpretations of both the valuable object and the valuing subject and by an emphasis upon the interrelation between them in a total situation" (p. 125). The work of art is asserted to have a "potential value which becomes actual only in a transaction with a sensitivity" (p. 125); "valuing" is distinguished from "mere liking" by its "dependence upon the properties of the object" and by its "rational" character. The critic should, Professor Heyl insists, "recognize the needs for some standards, principles, or criteria to serve as a guide and foundation for any appraisal" (pp. 126-127).

How, then, does this "relativism" differ from objectivism? By its recognition that all such standards are "derivative and tentative," that, "in the words of John Dewey, these empirical principles 'are not rules or prescriptions' and 'are of use as instrumentalities of personal experience, not as dictations of what the attitude of any one should be'" (p. 131). Hence aesthetic theories and critical judgments can contradict one another without being false. "There exist a number of conflicting yet genuinely superior artistic principles which have been evolved as a result of sensitive and trained experience, reflective inquiry, and cultural equipment. Between such principles definitive judgment cannot justly be made" (pp. 135-136). "The relativist realizes that his convictions neither can nor should have general validity, but that they hold only for those who are similar to him in certain basic ways" (p. 140). He therefore eschews dogmatism, cultivates humility, and values multiplicity rather than homogeneity of interpretation.

I have made a special effort to do full justice to the author's argument through unusually liberal quotation because I found his position so puzzling. I cannot, of course, answer him here in detail and must restrict myself to the following general remarks.

1. Is it not clear that he has, throughout the book, resorted to those "real" definitions which he himself attacks? Has he not tried to explain as precisely as possible what he conceives to be

the real nature of aesthetics, art, beauty and criticism? And would anyone bother to read his book if he had not tried to do precisely this? The effort to evade this responsibility by restricting oneself to "voluntary" definitions is not humility; it is, I submit, sheer intellectual suicide and the end of all aesthetics and art criticism.

2. His criticism of what he calls objectivism seems to me to be partly a salutary rebuke to intolerant dogmatism, partly a tilting at a man of straw. Yes, philosophers and critics are all too prone to be dogmatic, provincial, and lacking in imagination and charity, and they *do* need to be scolded for these vices. But note that a relativist can be just as dogmatic in defense of his relativism as an objectivist in defense of his position. On the other hand, I know of no objectivists who are as confident as Professor Heyl seems to think we are that *our formulations* of the objective criteria we believe in are wholly adequate, infallible or absolute, even though we don't preface each sentence we write with, "I believe that" or "To the best of my knowledge" or "It seems to me." Can't Professor Heyl and his fellow relativists credit us with some sense of human finitude, some modesty and humility?

3. Objectivists do believe that aesthetic values are in some significant sense objective; that man can more or less adequately apprehend them; and that it is the job of the critic to analyze and describe them as well as possible. But Professor Heyl's relativism seems to involve these same beliefs. What else can he mean by the "potential value" of a work of art, by "superior" and "inferior" criteria, by some minds being "finer" than others, by the critic's responsibility to make responsible evaluative judgments? Of course there is no apprehension or enjoyment of an objective value unless some mind apprehends and enjoys it. Of course all human apprehensions are fallible and imperfect, dependent in part upon, and therefore to *this extent* relative to, the ability, temperament, and cultural background of the individual. Who ever thought of denying all this? The question is, Are critics apprehending and judging something or nothing? And if something, then something with a character of its own, or not? And if it possesses a character of its own, is this character merely factual, or sensory, or is it such that some value judgments are more adequate, yes, more correct or true, than others? In other words, there are really only two possible positions, not three, as Professor Heyl supposes. Values are either objective or they are not. The subjectivistic position is admirably clear; the only trouble with it, as Professor Heyl recognizes, is that it simply does not make sense — it completely fails to do justice to man's normative experiences, aesthetic as well as moral and religious. The only alternative position is that of the objectivist, who believes that certain objects do possess value and that aesthetic and critical response is a response, more or less adequate, to these embodied values. When Professor Heyl urges recognition of "the total situation," including the work of art itself, he is admitting precisely what the objectivist wishes to defend. Professor Heyl is, of course, entitled to call this position "relativistic," but I submit that this designation merely confuses the issue by inviting us to set up, and then tear down, a mythical man-of-straw "objectivism" which no one is interested in defending.

It is only fair to add that Professor Heyl's relativism is widespread among both philosophers and critics. All the more reason that his book be studied with care and that its errors, if errors they be, be recognized and corrected. Too much is at stake to make indifference to, or neglect of, these central issues longer tolerable. Professor Heyl has done us a great service in forcing these positions into the open where they can be more easily examined and criticized.

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SIGFRIED GIEDION, *Space, Time and Architecture, the Growth of a New Tradition*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. 601; 321 ill.

Today, when prophets proclaim a new and unprecedented era of material progress awaiting only the conclusion of military conflict, we must, if we are to master our destinies and escape an anarchy of gadgetry, take careful stock of pent-up dreams and aspirations. Where can we turn for guidance in specifying the values we will demand? How can we project them into a program of material living? If those who seek to discern tomorrow with greater confidence must fortify themselves with wisdom based on an intelligent awareness and understanding of the present and the past, the social function of the historian assumes an importance seldom accorded to it by pragmatic laymen.

In no other field can contemporary problems — political, social, economic, scientific, and aesthetic — be more poignantly focused than in architecture and its extension, city planning. Here one is immediately confronted with the necessity of formulating a definite conception of what the good life requires as to material equipment. Here one reveals his innermost ideals and principles, or the lack of them. Here, too, one displays his degree of intellectual and emotional maturity.

The appearance, therefore, of any work of historical synthesis that contributes to our knowledge and awareness of recent architectural trends and ideals is an event of major cultural importance. For the layman, or even the specialists in other fields and periods, there has been a dearth of readable, authoritative, and comprehensive works dealing with architecture since the Industrial Revolution. As early as 1862, James Ferguson attempted to organize recent monuments in his *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, and David Joseph, in his *Geschichte der Baukunst vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit*, published in 1902, waded valiantly through to the end of the nineteenth century. But both Ferguson and Joseph were content to deal almost exclusively with stylistic classifications, and as late as 1915, Sturgis and Frothingham evaded the problem by closing their four-volume *History of Architecture* with the confession that they could find nothing significant after the completion of St. Peter's!

Beyond occasional reports in periodicals, both our own and European pioneers of the early twentieth century awaited admission to architectural histories until the post-war years. In the mid-twenties, Charles R. Richards, in his *Art in Industry*, first directed American attention to recent European developments. The first important survey of twentieth-century revolutionary architecture appeared in 1927 in the superbly illustrated *Die Baukunst der neuesten Zeit*, compiled by Adolf Platz, but his inscrutable, pseudo-philosophic introduction deterred rather than aided any understanding of aims and methods. Two years later, Bruno Taut, in *Die neue Baukunst in Europa und Amerika*, provided a brief but helpful exposition of some of the recent trends. An English translation was published in London at the same time.

In the same year, 1929, appeared the first discussion in English, Henry-Russell Hitchcock's *Modern Architecture*. In it, the author charted an intelligible course through nineteenth-century stylistic developments and discovered the New Pioneers of the twentieth. Here for the first time one at least glimpsed new aesthetic horizons, although in scope the book made no serious attempt to deal with technical or sociological problems. In 1937, a clearer and more carefully documented study of European aesthetic trends was provided by Nikolaus Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, still one of the most useful books in the field.

But though these indispensable works achieved a gradually rising standard of meaty content, explained with increasing lucidity, our concept of architectural history also advanced until it

demanding the comprehensiveness of general cultural history itself. In other words, the architects, critics, and historians of the thirties no longer felt satisfied with problems and answers couched principally in aesthetic terms. The impact of depression sobered many practitioners, and they found more palatable and important Lewis Mumford's two great works, *Technics and Civilization* (1934), and *The Culture of Cities* (1938) which were, significantly, not architectural histories in the strict sense at all. The cumulative effect of these two books strongly reinforced the mounting impatience with conventional architectural histories. Even the historians themselves began to be interested in the roots of modern techniques and forms.

What was this new architectural history to be? What should be its aim and methods? What equipment must the historian bring to its compilation? Fortunately we have at least one considered answer given by Professor Carroll L. V. Meeks in "The Teacher of Architectural History in the Professional School: His Training and Technique" (*Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians*, II, no. 2, April, 1942, pp. 14-23). "The new history of architecture is, broadly speaking, a course in the history of civilization. . . . The concept of style is stifling most teachers' imaginations. . . . reality was overlooked. . . . most books ignore the drains and pipes, poché conceals intricate structural systems. No effort is made to determine the original functions of the interior spaces, or to relate them with the furniture that made them usable, or the habits of life that called them into being. . . . Instead of style, the stress today should be laid on [all] the contributions of the period. . . . The historian now must turn his attention to the history of techniques, materials, mechanical equipment. . . . It is the contribution — practical or aesthetic — made by the building or the architect, which determines its importance for the present day. . . . decoration is important, but only a tiny part of the whole. . . . The nineteenth century by which we are surrounded is absolutely unknown to most of us; yet it should be stressed above all the rest of the past. All our traditions and habits are formed by it. . . . The proper training of the teacher involves a conjunction of circumstances too rarely found. He should have had professional training as an architect with some practical experience. . . . He should also have special training as an art historian and somewhere along the way have acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the other arts, history, sociology, economics, law and ecology."

Obviously, then, what is desired, at least by architects, and presumably by inquisitive non-architects, is a more professional history related convincingly to modern cultural phenomena. As such, it must integrate all the complex elements — structural, functional, and aesthetic — that go to make up modern buildings. It must consider the interrelationships of buildings in the community; in other words, it must include city planning. To fulfill such a specification, to select an almost completely new series of significant monuments, to master the intricate new structural systems, to trace the evolution of new building types, to perceive new aesthetic ideals and their expression, to blaze a revealing course through the jungle of urban morphology, and to synthesize the story into a plausible and intelligible narrative, is a fascinating assignment that nevertheless must dismay the most intrepid scholar.

Dr. Sigfried Giedion has not lacked courage in undertaking such a work, and no one can deny that *Space, Time and Architecture* achieves significance. Dr. Giedion brought an unusual equipment to his task. As pupil and disciple of Heinrich Wölfflin at Munich, he obtained thorough training in art history, evidenced by his thesis *Spätbarocker und romantischer Klassizismus*, published in 1922. Although without professional architectural training, he enjoyed intimate contact with the "new Pioneers" of progressive European art and architecture during the critical nineteen twenties. His observation of their work led

to publication of "Le Corbusier et l'architecture contemporaine" (*Cahiers d'art*, Paris, v, 1930, pp. 205-215), and *Walter Gropius* (Paris, 1931). His deep interest in the evolution of modern structural systems was indicated by his *Bauen in Frankreich*, which, despite its restricted scope, remains one of the first important surveys in this field. His valiant services as secretary of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne afforded him unusual opportunity to take part in its stimulating conferences and to gain an insight into the methods, principles, and work of its members. Perhaps his most saving grace is a monumental and catholic curiosity which compels him to penetrate long neglected nineteenth-century by-lanes and reveal to modern eyes their importance for an appreciation of the complex culture of that period and our own.

It is interesting to note that the occasion for his synthesis came in America, with the invitation to give the Charles Eliot Norton lectures at Harvard University during the spring of 1938. It was Harvard, too, through its University Press, that issued, in March, 1941, this impressive volume of six hundred pages, richly embellished with three hundred and twenty-one superb illustrations. And it has been largely an American audience that has exhausted by now its three reprintings. The typographical design by Herbert Bayer, once instructor at the Bauhaus, is felicitous, but the presumably unavoidable use of highly glazed paper, required by the half-tone engravings sprinkled through the text, makes prolonged reading an eye-wracking experience.

The author begins with a brief exposition (Part II) of the spatial patterns exploited during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. For the former, he sees architectural composition dominated by the discovery of one-point perspective; for the latter, he emphasizes both the importance of moulding the building plastically to achieve an all-pervading, dynamic unity from its diverse elements — symbolized by "the undulating wall" and "the flexible ground plan" — and the "organization of outer space" in country palace and urban square through the juxtaposing of architecture and nature.

Entering the nineteenth century, attention shifts (Part III) to "new potentialities" in construction, especially those exciting developments consequent to the introduction of iron as a building material. The exploitation of this new resource is traced in bridges, roofs, the interiors of factories, the iron front, the market hall, department store, and in the striking spans that housed the great exhibitions held during the second half of the century. The impact of new techniques on aesthetic form is discussed as "The Demand for Morality in Architecture" (Part IV). Here, Horta in Brussels, Berlage in Amsterdam, and Wagner in Vienna furnish the critical reactions to currently official pastiche fashions. Somewhat incidentally, the section concludes with a sketch of the development of reinforced concrete and the work of August Perret and Tony Garnier.

American developments occupy Part V. The character and origin of the "balloon" frame are discussed. An American respect for "plane surfaces" is perceived. Major attention, however, is focused on the amazing production of the Chicago school in metal-skeletoned commercial buildings and on the suburban residences — so revolutionary in plan and expression — by Frank Lloyd Wright.

Particularly stimulating is the following chapter (Part VI) in which the author finds "space-time" parallels between twentieth-century painting, construction, and architecture. In static "cubism" and its affiliates, "purism," "constructivism," and "neo-plasticism" — seeking "a new representation of space," an extension of "the scale of optical vision," and emotional content in groups of planes — and in dynamic "futurism," seeking to express perceptive "simultaneity," he suggests similarities in point of view and methods with Maillart's dramatically composed concrete-slab bridges, Gropius' glass curtained walls and

hovering cubical complexes, and the interpenetration of Le Corbusier's free plan and structural skeleton. The accompanying accounts of the careers of Maillart, Gropius, and Le Corbusier are succinct and lucid.

The last three chapters (Parts VII, VIII, IX) deal admirably with the evolution of modern city planning. Two excellent sections discuss the important, but long neglected development and character of London residential squares, and the herculean surgical operations by which Haussmann transformed a still mediaeval Paris into "the city of light." The rise of modern city planning techniques is illustrated by three stages in the extension of Amsterdam. The book closes with consideration of "The New Scale in City Planning," the parkway and the function of tall buildings in open urban spaces.

From this brief review, *Space, Time and Architecture* is seen to be a series of related essays rather than a comprehensive or continuous history. It is indeed surprising that an atmosphere of continuity is created so successfully with such diverse materials. Although many readers will still desire and need a methodical exposition of architectural developments since the Industrial Revolution, one should not condemn a book because it proves to be something other than one hoped it would be. One can only register the hope that someone will tackle the larger program in the not too distant future.

Acknowledging the competent and ingratiating manner with which the author has followed his stated aims, it may be worth while to note some of the significant architectural currents that he has not chosen to cite or exploit. Thus, although much attention is directed to certain developments in the metal skeleton and the later reinforced concrete structural systems, the treatment is far from inclusive. There is little hint of the amazing structural revolution, starting in the late seventeenth century and carried so far already in the eighteenth. The rise of modern structural theory, which alone could validate and free hesitant pragmatic experiments, goes almost unmentioned. Concurrent improvements in traditional structural systems — timber and masonry — also are absent. One feels the need of fuller investigation of early skeleton construction and the problem of masonry fireproofing, without a solution for which the Chicago school would have been helpless.

Consideration of the evolution of modern planning techniques and their relation to the solution of modern building types is absent, except only for Wright's suburban houses. This is unfortunate, for the rôle of the factory, the railroad station, humanitarian institutions, schools, and commercial offices in the transformation of the architect's own professional equipment and point of view is fundamental to an understanding of the remarkable contrast between modern scientific functionalism and the general, intuitive functionalism of the best eighteenth-century work.

It is, of course, in the province of aesthetic form and expression, that the author is most eloquent. Indeed, the aim of the book is forthrightly enunciated in the Foreword, "to establish . . . a true, if hidden, unity, a secret synthesis, in our present civilization. To point out *why* this synthesis has *not* become a *conscious and active reality*. My interest has been particularly concentrated on the growth of the new traditions in architecture, for the purpose of showing its interrelations with other human activities and the similarity of methods that are in use today in architecture, construction, painting, city planning, and science." He notes, particularly, the late nineteenth century's compartmentation of those inseparable qualities, thought and feeling, and the subsequent failure of science and sociology to override the urge to synthesize them. Perusal of the argument leads one to feel, however, that a stronger preparation for the late nineteenth-century aesthetic revolution might have been laid by recognition of the importance of the revival of picturesque mediaeval articulation in breaking through the formalism

of surviving Palladian grammar. There is, perhaps, a tendency to lose sight of the compositional forest for the ornamentalistic trees. The paternity of recent functionalism might also have been bolstered by including discussion of eighteenth-century rationalism, French revolutionary functionalism, and the "expressionism" of the *École des Beaux-Arts* and Viollet-le-Duc.

To mention these points is not to stigmatize the book or author. The reason for citing them is merely to show that, despite our great need of an inclusive and objective history of architecture since the Industrial Revolution, we have not got it in *Space, Time and Architecture*. The book is, it seems, principally an interpretation and appreciation of central and western European architecture from World War I to the rise of Hitler. As such, it is a most welcome and convincing achievement, exciting, dramatic, readable, and stimulating, a work that will be compulsory reading for decades to come. And as such, it must be judged.

The key to appraisal lies in the author's belief about history and historians. In the introduction (Part I), which in many ways is the most interesting section of the book, Dr. Giedion proclaims his belief in a dynamic history in which "there are no absolute standards in the arts." The function of the creative historian is "to uncover for his own age its vital interrelationships with the past," to dispel shortsighted "living from day to day," and to attempt to satisfy "the demand for a universal outlook upon the world." "The historian cannot in actual fact detach himself from the life about him; he, too, stands in the stream. The ideal historian . . . surveying all time and all existence from a lofty pedestal is a fiction. The historian, like every other man, is the creature of his time and draws from it both his powers and his weaknesses. By virtue of his calling, he may survey a larger circle of events than his average contemporary, but this does not lift him out of his own historical setting. It is even to his advantage to be forced from his academic chair occasionally and made to participate in the common struggles of the moment. For direct contact with life and its necessities sharpens his abilities to penetrate the jungle of printed records to the unfalsified voices of the real actors. It is the task of the historian to recognize the truth through all its disguises. Unfortunately the historian has often used his office to proclaim the eternal right of a static past. He has gone further and has used arguments based on past happenings to restrict and distort the future" (pp. 6 and 7).

In method, he prefers "to select from the vast body of available historical material only relatively few facts. *History is not a compilation of facts, but an insight into a moving process of life.* Moreover, such insight is obtained not by the exclusive use of the panoramic survey, the bird's-eye view, but by isolating and examining certain specific events intensively, penetrating and exploring them in the manner of the close-up."

Obviously, this program is not meant for those historians who are preoccupied with the exhilarating game of retrieving facts and relating them for the sake of the innocent amusement which the historical jig-saw puzzle most certainly provides. Even for them, detachment often requires almost superhuman self-discipline. But for the historian who constitutes himself an interpreter of the past for the instruction of his contemporaries, it poses an undeniable problem. Detachment for him may be the "survey [of] a larger circle of events," and he may strive to make that circle as inclusive as his abilities, industry, training, and resources permit. It is this inclusive view which sets him apart and which, when organized and interpreted by himself or someone cleverer than he, should prove his worth to his fellows. No doubt, this historian should communicate his findings in terms intelligible to his fellows who thereupon may accept or reject them. If his findings are relevant and lucidly expressed, and if his fellows are alert and receptive, these findings may, perhaps, be of service in adding wisdom to action.

If our interpretive historian has, therefore, a function in modern life, it is not to champion single chains of events, for that reduces him to the rôle of propagandist, but rather to provide his dominant theme with a counterpoint of concurrent trends which will permit his readers to understand historical and present alternatives. This will provide him with something of a check, so that he will not distort the past by his own conscious or subconscious special pleading. He must "recognize the truth through all its disguises." Since "history is . . . a process," the historian must not falsify the process by overemphasizing one particular current, even though it appears at the moment to be the most relevant. For, as the author indicates repeatedly, architecture impinges on so many human activities and desires that truth in the architectural process is never achieved by oversimplification.

As long, therefore, as the reader is aware of the stated and real purpose of this book, it will certainly be most useful and deserve close study. The author's encyclopedic resources illumine many dark corners. He is at his best in revealing neglected but significant facts, and in thumb-nail summaries of various topics. Especially rewarding are his deft essays on Versailles, the great exhibitions, Berlage, the Chicago school, Wright, Gropius, Le Corbusier, Haussmann, and the Amsterdam extension plans. Throughout, his ability to uncover germane material maintains the atmosphere of a detective story. His care in procuring apposite and superior illustrations is a welcome relief from the miserable excuses so often purveyed by sluggards and incompetents.

It is permissible to wish that certain emendations could be incorporated in subsequent editions of the work. It would be particularly helpful to have listed the sources of illustrations. One regrets that limits of space precluded inclusion of a bibliography which would have been a most useful aid to all scholars in this field.

In such an excursion through time, it is, no doubt, inevitable that some misinterpretations and even some inadvertent errors must escape the most ardent checking. Without pretending to omniscience, one may raise a respectful eyebrow to the end that future readers will not be misled.

For example, it is no longer contended that Brunelleschi built his Duomo dome wholly without centering (p. 32). In the great hall of the Piazza d'Oro, in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, the plan does not have convex wall segments, for the basic form of the room is a dome on an octagon, whose major axes have concave columnar screens, and whose corner niches have convex columnar screens (p. 46). The Hôtel Lambert (Île St. Louis, Paris) was the work of Louis Le Vau, not of his brother, François (p. 69). Fouquet, not "Foucquet," was the ill-fated proprietor of Vaux-le-Vicomte (p. 69).

The statement regarding Versailles that "never before had so large a community been housed under one roof, in open country, away from any big town" (p. 73), is perhaps true in a literal sense, but it tends to obscure the strong French Renaissance monarchical tradition long since established at Chambord, Fontainebleau, and Saint-Germain-en-Laye. It denies, moreover, one of the most striking characteristics of many mediaeval monastic communities.

Close study of public buildings of the second half of the eighteenth century, far from indicating that architects remained indifferent to new structural developments (p. 100), would reveal practically instantaneous adoption of the new techniques, whenever the increased cost seemed warranted. One need only cite Soane's veritable museum of structural innovations, the Bank of England, but there were many more and earlier examples. Although admittedly these applications came only gradually to remould the external expression of buildings, still the beginning was made much earlier than is usually suspected. The lag in exploiting them aesthetically seems to have been really much shorter than in other such transitions.

It is now generally recognized that before his death in 1717 Abraham Darby I practiced on a considerable scale the smelting of iron ore with coke made from pit coal, and that his son-in-law, Richard Ford, and, after 1732, his son, Abraham II, merely extended and refined this epoch-making discovery (pp. 103-104). Further investigation into early applications of iron to building construction no longer permits the palm of "first" to the wrought-iron roof of Victor Louis' Théâtre-Français (p. 109). It was, in fact, derivative, and it is even problematic whether Louis was directly responsible for this roof design, although his acknowledged structural ingenuity no doubt ensured his sympathetic patronage.

Surely the attribution of the timber dome of the Halle-aux-Blés (the Public Granary) at Paris, to Philibert de l'Orme is an inadvertence of translation (p. 112). The dome, of course, was added to the circular courtyard in 1782, and used a system of ribs of thin planks wedged together which had been invented by de l'Orme in the sixteenth century.

Considerable attention is devoted to the introduction of cast-iron columns as structural elements. The earliest example cited is dated 1783 on the authority of a paper on "Mill Construction" by Mr. Harold Hill (*Official Record of the Annual Conference of the Textile Institute*, Bolton, 1927, pp. 41-70). Unfortunately, the column there illustrated is stated in Mr. Hill's text (p. 46) as located, not in the 1782 building, which is framed wholly in timber, but in a wing of a nearby building "probably much later."

We are much indebted to the author for publishing for the first time three drawings (figs. 64, 65, 66) relating to the famous Philip (or Phillip, but not Philipp), Wood and Lee's Cotton Twist Mill in Salford in Manchester. These drawings are now in the Boulton and Watt Collection in the Birmingham Reference (the Central Public) Library. Although long regarded as the "first experiment in the use of iron pillars and beams for the whole interior framework of a building" (p. 124), an assertion based on the authority of William Fairbairn, recent discoveries now prove it had at least one, and very probably three, predecessors. Its importance is little diminished, however, for the Salford mill remains the earliest of which we have adequate illustrations of the internal structural system. Heretofore, our sole source was a very unsatisfactory woodcut plan and longitudinal section given in Fairbairn's *On the Application of Cast and Wrought Iron to Building Purposes* (London, 1854). Now that this new material is available, we can see that Fairbairn's woodcut is obviously based on the drawing reproduced in figure 64. This drawing, despite the accompanying legend, is probably not a working drawing for the building itself, but rather a study for the gas-light piping installed in 1802 by William Murdoch, Boulton and Watt's chief engineer.

Two small, handwritten notes appearing on the cross section reproduced in figure 65 deserve mention. One in the lower left reads "a — built up to this line 1799," referring to a line drawn at the level of the head of the ground-story columns. The date is two years earlier than had heretofore been assigned the building and makes it possible, though improbable, that James Watt, senior, may really have contributed to the design of the structural iron. Watt retired early in 1801. The other note at the lower right reads "solid stone built after the failure of July 27, 1801," referring evidently to the stone masonry filling which braces the column footings. Figure 66 is taken from part of a larger drawing showing details of several cast-iron pillars. Neither that illustrated, nor those omitted, can be fitted into the clearly dimensioned drawings of the building sections. Nor do the diameters agree with the building columns. Judging by the provision of a shaft-bearing in the column pedestal, it seems safe to associate them with some part of the steam engine, also furnished by Boulton and Watt (I am indebted to Dr. Giedion who graciously permitted me to study and copy his excellent photographs of the original drawings).

The text (pp. 129-134) devoted to James Bogardus, while important in restoring this enigmatic and prolific inventor to architectural history, raises many problems. Bogardus certainly built his own five-story factory in 1848-49 with an iron exterior wall and possibly with an iron floor structure, and he patented his method of assembly in 1850, but he was anticipated by John Haviland in 1830, and Fairbairn in 1839, both of whose cast-iron buildings he must have known, and for more than a decade Manhattan shops had used this material for ground-story fronts. He nevertheless popularized this construction during the fifties until it became almost universal for commercial structures. But Bogardus probably cast no iron and probably designed few buildings. His outstanding project for the New York Fair of 1853 would certainly have made history, but it too had been anticipated in principle and execution in France eleven years before. He furnished the iron front and his patented girders for the Harper Building, but the true significance of this citadel against fire was due to the architect, John B. Corlies, and derives straight from English mill construction. In passing, we should note that figure 69, taken from the Bogardus pamphlet, published 1858 (not 1856 as given), is not a "house," but a hypothetical ruin of Bogardus' own factory. In note 16 (p. 134), "Brummels" no doubt refers to the Brunels, father and son.

To establish and trace "The Schism between Architecture and Technology" (pp. 146-152) is a problem requiring research on the scale of a doctoral thesis. If one may hazard a guess, it will prove to have arisen much later than formerly supposed, and the close sympathy and mutual cooperation between French architects and scientists during the Revolution and Empire will hearten those who decry present-day antagonisms.

Only two points need be mentioned in connection with the excellent sections on markets, department stores, and exhibition galleries. The printing of the E. V. Haughwout Department Store, still standing on the northeast corner of Broadway and Broome Streets, in reverse (fig. 96) may prevent hardy architectural tourists from recognizing it. The clear span of the Galerie des Machines was 115 meters or 377 feet (not 150 meters, as given in the legend for fig. 119).

Smeaton built his Eddystone lighthouse in 1756-59 (not in 1774), and his methodical search for an hydraulic cement (not "concrete" as we understand the term) that would harden under water had long been successfully anticipated by Dutch and Flemish hydraulic engineers (p. 244).

Not the least of the author's services in reviving interest in American structural history is the attempt to discover the inventor of the "balloon frame" (pp. 269-277). This attempt subsequently inspired Walker Field to make a close study of the documents, and he was able to uncover fresh and pertinent material ("A Reexamination into the Invention of the Balloon Frame," *Jour. Amer. Soc. Arch. Hist.*, II, no. 4, October, 1942, pp. 3-29). The term, "balloon frame," seems to have been used somewhat vaguely. Webster gives it as "A house frame constructed altogether of small timber," while current technical usage connotes the continuation of the wall studs from foundation to eave-plate in a two-story structure. If one-story St.

Mary's R. C. Church, built in Chicago during the summer of 1833, long cited as the first example, be allowed as "balloon frame" on the basis of the Webster definition, the invention can hardly belong to George Washington Snow, as Van Osdel claimed in 1883, for no document links Snow to St. Mary's. On the contrary, Field, quoting Andreas' *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1884-86, I, p. 290), gives its architect and constructor as Augustine Deodat Taylor, carpenter and builder, just arrived from Hartford. If, on the other hand, the term is reserved for dwellings of at least two stories, its first specific use appears in a letter of November, 1835, describing in general Chicago's small, lightly built houses which were springing into being almost overnight. Dr. Giedion, while presenting Snow as the inventor, recognizes the difficulty of attribution by saying (note 26, p. 274), "Until more exact researches have been made, it cannot be taken as certain that no other men figured in the development of the balloon frame."

Other points of differences of material selected as "constituent facts" or of emphasis might be raised. The priority of C. A. P. Turner's "flat-slab, mushroom-column" reinforced concrete building system over Maillart's use of the same system is barely recognized (p. 374). Certain practical defects in Le Corbusier's plans, especially in the Savoie House, go unmentioned (p. 415). It is surprising not to meet some reference to the outstanding American development of "windowless" construction. The solid accomplishments of the nineteenth century in the matter of water supply, fire control, sanitation, rapid transit, and police protection might mitigate somewhat the wholesale and all-too-well-deserved indictment of its urban transition (pp. 434 ff.). One detects an over-scant appreciation of the English Utopian plans (p. 510) and Howard's garden-city movement (pp. 508-511), while the one-third of a footnote allotted to Radburn seems inadequate (p. 510). One would like to have had suggestions, too, on the technique of solving urban problems within a democratic framework.

The unchallenged importance of *Space, Time and Architecture* condones, it seems to this reviewer, the present extended examination. Its straightforward discussion of recent architecture in aesthetic terms, in contrast to former sales-talk couched almost exclusively in arguments of cash economy and millennial efficiency, should do much to encourage analysis and a new understanding of aesthetic values. The book does yeoman service in clearing the way for a revival of human qualities in architecture and laughing out of countenance whatever sterile rehashes rise to plague modern creativeness. No one, Dr. Giedion least of all, would claim that the aesthetic solutions of the past two decades should be codified into a new Vignola to strait-jacket future generations. His service will be much more fundamental if he can instill new dignity, conscience, and confidence in architects to come. In a world faced with unprecedented opportunity for reconstruction, *Space, Time and Architecture* derives an unforeseen, but happy, timeliness that should brighten our dark present and give us hope of more felicitous days ahead.

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